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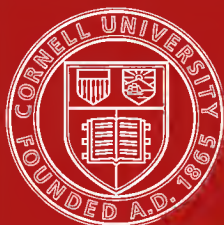
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The Compleat
English Gentleman

Ballantyne Press
BALLANTYNE, HANSON AND CO.
LONDON AND EDINBURGH

The Compleat English Gentleman

By Daniel Defoe

Edited for the First Time from the Author's
Autograph Manuscript in the British
Museum, with Introduction
Notes, and Index

By Karl D. Bülbring, M.A., Ph.D.



London: Published by David Nutt

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Dedicated

TO

DR. FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL,

THE EDITOR OF MANY

VALUABLE MANUSCRIPTS AND EARLY PRINTED BOOKS,

THE AUTHOR OF NUMEROUS ESSAYS

ON EARLY ENGLISH LITERATURE, BIOGRAPHY,

AND EDUCATION,

THE LEADER AND GENEROUS PROMOTER OF THE ENDEAVOURS

OF HUNDREDS OF FELLOW-WORKERS,

BY

HIS SINCERE AND GRATEFUL FRIEND,

THE EDITOR.



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¹ This heading is struck out in MS.

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PART II.

CHAPTER I.

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FOREWORDS.



THE *Compleat English Gentleman*, by Daniel Defoe, which appears now for the first time in print, is preserved, in the author's handwriting, in the manuscript collection of the British Museum, numbered 32,555 of the Additional MSS.

John Forster was the first to mention the existence of the work, in his *Biographical Essays*, London, 1860, foot-note on page 155. Fuller particulars were made public by William Lee (*Life of Daniel Defoe*, London, 1869, pp. 451, 452, and 457), and to these subsequent writers have added nothing further.

In one point they have all been misled, for the MS. does not consist of a single work, but includes another, which is bound up with it and fills the leaves 67-100. This second work bears the title, *On Royall Education*, and will be published shortly by Mr. David Nutt.

The *Compleat English Gentleman* was one of Defoe's last works, the only one published subsequently being his *Effectual Scheme for the Preventing of Street Robberies, and Suppressing the other Disorders of the*

Night (1730). Together with the MS. is preserved a printed proof-sheet of sixteen pages, containing the beginning of the work. This seems to be the only part which was ever put in type. There is extant a letter written by Defoe to Mr. T. Watts, in Wild Court, the printer of this sheet, which is important, as it fixes the date previous to which the work must have been composed. It is as follows :—

Sir—I am to ask your pardon for keeping the enclosed so long, Mr. Baker having told me your resolution of taking it in hand and working it off. But I have been exceedingly ill. I have revised it again, and contracted it very much, and hope to bring it within the bulk you desire, or as near it as possible. But this and some needful alterations will oblige you to much trouble in the first sheet, and perhaps almost as bad as setting it over again, which cannot be avoided. I will endeavour to send the rest of the copy so well corrected as to give you very little trouble. I here return the first sheet and as much copy as will make near three sheets more. You shall have all the remainder so as not to let you stand still at all.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

DE FOE.

Sept. 10th, 1729.

The *terminus a quo* is furnished by internal evidence of the work itself. Many historical facts are mentioned, the latest of which are these :—

On page 35, Peter the Great, who died January 28, 1725, is spoken of as the late Czar, and his wife and successor, Catherine I., who died May 17, 1727, as the late Empress; whilst Prince Menchikoff, who was deprived of the Regency and sent to Siberia in September 1727, is alluded to as being in exile.

Thus, allowing some time for the news to reach London, and taking into account the delay mentioned in the letter, we get the year 1728 and the earlier half of 1729 as the date of composition.

The manuscript and proof-sheet appear to have remained in the possession of Defoe's relations, the Baker family, for more than a hundred years, as Mr. Dawson Turner, of Great Yarmouth, bought them in 1831 from the Rev. H. D. F. Baker, the descendant of Henry Baker, son-in-law of Defoe, for £69, the British Museum not having ventured to go beyond £35.¹ At the sale of his MSS. in 1859 Defoe's treatise was purchased by Mr. James Crossley for £75 8s. (including commission).² The British Museum bought it on June 20, 1885, at Sotheby's (Crossley Sale, lot 2973).

The MS. is a small quarto, and consists of 142 leaves, the printed sheet being affixed at the end. According to Mr. Francis B. Bickley, of the British Museum, the binding was certainly done when the MS. belonged to Dawson Turner, since many of his other MSS. are bound in exactly the same style. The proof-sheet has a few corrections, but in a handwriting different from Defoe's. The MS. itself is in Defoe's own firm, small, and close writing. As a rule, only one side of the paper is written on, but many insertions and notes are added on the opposite page. The first leaf

¹ Forster, page 155; Lee, page 457; and Dawson Turner's Sale Catalogue.

² See the fly-leaf of the MS., where also this remark in Crossley's hand is to be found: "*For an admirer of Defoe this volume is a treasure.*"

contains the title. On the next six leaves are three different Introductions, of which the first, filling folio 2, runs thus :—

The True Bred Gentleman.

NOTHING in the world can be more preposterous, and yet nothing of the kind is more warmly espoused and dogmatically insisted upon, than the gross notions of¹ nobility and gentility, as they are at this time entertained among [us].²

If it were to be defended by reasoning, or supported by argument, we should certainly have found something among the antients for an opinion that has taken such deep root among us.

If phylosophy or the laws of Nature were furnished with anything to supply the defect of argument, they would have been searcht to the bottom long agoe.

If anatomy, or the strictest inquiry into the microcosme of the creature called man could afford anything in its favour, something might be found in the learned anatomists of the age.

But if neither phylosophy, reason, or demonstration of parts can shew any specific difference between the Patricij and the Plebei, if the whole kind is formed in the same mould, if all the parts are the same, if the form is the same, and the materialls the same; where then must we search for the gentleman, among the remains of antiquity, or among the works of Nature?³

This brief preface does not suit with the beginning of the first chapter, as it partly contradicts and partly anticipates what is said there.

The second Introduction (fol. 3-5) is the one adopted for the present edition, as it agrees best with the treatise that follows, though it seems incomplete, ending abruptly

¹ MS. *of of*.

² *us* omitted in MS.

³ At the bottom of the page: "Mr. Furlong at or near the King's Arms at Hungerford Market in the Strand."

as it does in the middle of folio 5*a*. It does not seem that anything is lost, but that Defoe broke off at this point.

The third Introduction (fol. 6-7) is in parts very like the one I have chosen, and is full of witty and striking remarks. I reproduce it here:—

Introduction.

THE grave ones tell us that every age has its peculiar favourite follies, singular to itself, which the people are all wayes fond of and blind to the weakness of them; and if I may judge of the past times by the present, I believ 'tis very true.

It is true, in former ages, when the simple things they have taken up with, have run some length and this or that vice has been fashionable for a time, the fluctuating palate has chang'd its gust, the habit has smelt stale, they have grown sick of their old mistress, and fac'd about to some other extravagance: whether this age will do so, or how long it may be, or if, when they do, they will change for the better or for the worse, where is the conjuror that can tell?

It might be usefull, if it were not for being tedious, to run over the world and giv a list of nacionall follies, and to look back into time and trace periodicall extravagances of particular ages in those nations separately or among man-kind universally: how one age has been quarrellsome, another drunken,¹ another lewd, etc., more than any before them.

But what need when we are come to the heel of time, when the whole list being, as it were, worn out, and every humour has had its day: the world, at present, seems to engross them into one generall, and making a kind of democrasie of vices, to let them all reign together. Yet it is true that even in such a Common Wealth of crime there will be some predominant.² The age will embrace some peculiar, and this I take to be our case. (*Pride* and ignorance have been the two tyrant devils of the age. They have reign'd³ too long and got such a footing that, as I doubt, they will not abdicate; and particu-

¹ MS. *druk'en*.

² MS. *predominat*.

³ MS. *reign'd*.

larly as we do not see any worfe to come in their room, fo I can not fee a probable end of their dominion.

Pride indeed is an original, a child of Hell by imediate generation, which comes in by a kind of hereditary right ; and it reigns accordingly like a tyrant.

Ignorance indeed is an upstart, for man was not created a fool : 'Tis a negatio, a deprivation of knowledge, as darknefs is a deprivation of light.

Nature's produccion is a *Charte Blanch*, and the foul is plac'd in him like a¹ peice of clean paper, upon which the precepts of life are to be written by his instructors, and he has the charge of keeping it fair lay'd upon himself.)

If his introduccion is good, if he is well taught, 'tis his felicity ; if not, his foul remains a blank, and the world is a blank to him, and he is miserable by the accident of his birth, not by his fault. But if this blank be written upon, but either the writing makes no impreffion or is not carefully preserv'd : this is both his misery and his fault, and this is the criminal negatio I am to speak of. This is *Ignorance* in the abstract.

But to bring these two together which one would think was impossible—for how can they consist ? Is it possible a man can be proud of ignorance ? was ever a crooked man proud of a hump back, or a cripple proud of his wooden leg ? Was ever a man proud of the small-pox in his face or vain of being squint ey'd ? To² be proud of knowledge,³ tho' it is a blemish too and a great token of degeneracy, yet there is some foundation for it. There is something at bottom to be proud of, and (as Mr. Dryden said to Shadwell :—

—*Prid of wit and sence may be an evil,
But to be proud of nonsense, that's the Devil.*)

To be proud of ignorance is to be proud of non-entity. Ignorance is no being, as black is no colour. 'Tis a demission ; 'tis a *nothing*, if that can be said to be that has no being. In short, 'tis a name without a thing, 'tis a noun of emptyness, a word to signifye the want of every thing that is worth anything.

I might examin here the reason of the generall ignorance, which we are so fond of in this age, and how it comes to encrease as it

¹ a omitted in MS. ² With a small letter in MS. ³ Folio 7.

does ; and I might run it up to its originall, (viz.) the defect of education and instruccion ; and that indeed may be the true naturall reason as we shall see afterward : But I am not so much upon the grave part yet.

But the present cause of our ignorance, at least the best reason we can give for its encrease, is its being so fashionable, and there comes in the pride of it.

We have a tradition among us, how true I leave to the critics, that in the reign of Richard III., commonly, tho' (as some say) falsely call'd *Crook-back'd Richard*, the courtiers made themselves *humps* to wear under their clothes, that so they might be in the fashion and look like the king,¹ *regis ad exemplum*. So by the rule of our present discourse, they might set up for severall other imitations in the round shouldered age. The Russian ladies, I am told, in the reign of the late Czar's grandfather, painted their hair red, because the Czarina's hair was red ; and who knows, had King James II. reign'd a little longer,² sham births, warming pans, and borrow'd heires might have become a fashion to prevent alienacion of estates and keep the mansion house in the right line.

How glorious ignorance came to be the fashion so much among us, is not very easie to say, or when it had its original. But that we grow proud of this deformity I must date from the fact, viz. of its being fashionable.

• But I am told this is begging the question, that it does not appear ; or to reduce it to a fair enquiry, how do I prov that it is the fashion.

If I may be allow'd to answer that question with a question, at the same time promising to giv an ample discovery of the fact³ in its place, my question should be, in short, this :—

(If Ignorance is not the fashion, why is it not more out of fashion ? why do we decline sending our young noblemen and the sons of out best gentry to school, and especially the eldest sons, the heirs of the estates ? why must they have no learning ?)

The, tho' weak and foolish, answer is : Why, nobody does it. 'Tis below his quality. "*What ?*" says the lady mother, "shall *my son* go to school ! *my son* ! no, indeed, he shan't go among the rabble of

¹ MS. *n*.

² MS. *long*.

³ "ct" indistinct.

every trades-man's boys and be bred up among mechanicks. No, no, my son is a gentleman ; my son, is he not a baronet by his blood ? and he is born a gentleman, and he shall be bred a gentleman."—
 (And so the young gentleman has a tutor bestow'd on him to teach him at home ; 'tis taken for a scandal to the heir of the family to be under discipline and under restraints, and much more to be under the power and correction of a forry pedagogue : no, he shall have a tutor.)

And what is the English of this tutor ? 'Tis evident in the consequence. The young gentleman has a tutor, that is, a play-fellow : while he is a child, indeed, he may learn him his letters and to read English, and indeed, *this but sorryly* too sometimes, and very seldom to spell it. But more of that in its place. Then, with some difficulty, he is taught his accidence, which he can rather say than understand, and this carries him on to 12 or 13 year old, perhaps farther, according as he is dull or quick. If [*end of fol. 7*].

There are some very good points in this Introduction ; but that which has been prefixed to the present edition deserves the preference, not only as being more complete, but because it leads more directly to the subject of the work, and indeed supplies some almost necessary observations, intended to make the aim of the book more easily intelligible, and to preclude misunderstandings. It seems not improbable that the two rejected Introductions were written before entering on the composition of the work itself, whilst the third was written, after a good deal, or perhaps the whole, of the book was completed ; and that Defoe desired, at the outset, plainly to state his opinion on several points on which he feared he had not made it sufficiently clear in the body of the work.

The beginning of the treatise itself is not preserved in manuscript, but the want is fully supplied by the

printed portion. One sheet consisting of two leaves must have been lost before folio 8, which accordingly is numbered 2 by Defoe himself ; also folio 10 has the old number 3. The beginning of the text of folio 8 is found on page 8 of the proof-sheet ; but two insertions preserved in the printed portion, and which must have been written on the back of the preceding leaf, are lost with the first sheet.

The MS. is well preserved, but the close and hurried writing, the indistinct characters, which may very often mean different letters, the great number of emendations, additions, and deleted passages, the extensive use of contractions and of shorthand and other abbreviations, and the uncommon, irregular, and often curious and faulty spelling make it difficult and sometimes perplexing to read. Mr. Francis B. Bickley, of the British Museum, who made the copy for the printer, has performed his arduous task in a most satisfactory manner, and, in order to make the reproduction as correct as possible, the editor has himself compared all doubtful, difficult, or complicated passages with the MS. while correcting the proofs. There are a few shorthand notes in the MS. which it has been impossible to decipher, or to get transcribed by an expert ; but they are always short, and never form part of the text. All the shorthand abbreviations in the text we have, I believe, interpreted correctly.

As Defoe himself states in the letter to his printer, he has tried to shorten the work, and there are, in consequence, a few deleted passages of some length in the MS., which are printed at the end of the present volume among the Notes.

In preparing the text for publication I have avoided needless corrections. In the opening part, which had to be taken from the printed sheet, I have strictly adhered to the old spelling and punctuation, though it will be seen that both in these and in the use of capital letters, there are many inconsistencies.

With regard to the MS. itself, I have adhered to the text, with the following necessary exceptions. I have expanded all abbreviations, which are very numerous. Defoe uses a short, thick, horizontal stroke for *and*, only occasionally employing the sign & ; a short, thick, oblique stroke from right to left for *that* ; a similar one from left to right for *the* ; but sometimes the well-known abbreviations *y^t* and *y^e*. An *o* with a horizontal stroke means either *which* or *what* ; if crossed obliquely from right to left, it means *particular*. Two connected *o*'s stand for *good* ; a long stroke with an *o*, for *notwithstanding*. Another more complicated shorthand abbreviation is used for the words *government*, *governor*, and *govern* ; another for *understand* and *understood* ; likewise the words *world*, *would*, *should*, *said*, *children*, *compleat*, *king*, *Christ* and *Christian*, *circumstance*, *providence*, *necessary*, *of*, *satisfaction*, are, some of them usually, some occasionally, represented by shorthand notations ; a dot before some of them signifies the addition of an *s*,—*e.g.*, *kings*, *that's*. *Acc^t* signifies *account* ; *und^r*, *under* ; *m*, *mm* ; *prelimin^y*, *preliminary* ; *bro^t*, *brought* ; *G*, *gentleman*, or *gentlemen*, or *gentry*, or *gentle* ; *ha'*, *have* ; *hon^{bl}*, *honourable* ; *S.*, *Spain* ; *S^r*, *Sir* ; *Po.*, *Portuguese* ; *T—M*, *tradesman* ; *C^d*, *Cardinal* ; *K^d*, *kingdom* ; *Hund^{ds}*, *hundreds* ; *tho^{ts}*, *thoughts* ; *Q.*, *Queen* ; *sev^{ll}*, *severall* ; *Plo*, *plenipotentiary* ; *P.*, *Parlia-*

ment ; ps, *peice* (Defoe's spelling for *piece*) ; gen^l, *generall* ; comp^a, *company* ; y^m, *them* ; ordin^a, *ordinary* ; Abishops, *Archbishops* ; Eng., *English* ; Pat. Nost., *Paternoster* ; D., *Devil* ; M., *Majesty* ; Gent., *Gentleman* ; bro., *brother* ; fa., *father* ; L^d, *Lord* ; agst, *against* ; tho^t, *thought*. Defoe also uses the old abbreviations for *er* and *re* after p ; *m* with this abbreviation of *er* means *merit*. The *i* between *c* and *o* or *a* in such words as *condicion*, *especiallly*, is either represented by a flourish over the two neighbouring letters, or omitted altogether.

Many of these abbreviations are at once understood, and the meaning of others was found by comparison with the printed sheet, whilst several could only be explained conjecturally by comparing all the passages in which they occur. To this latter class belong the words *notwithstanding*, *children*, *good*, *providence*, *compleat*, *Christian*, *circumstance*, and one or two others. For the sake of scrupulous readers I have pointed out in foot-notes all the passages where such abbreviations occur, though I have myself no doubt that the interpretations given are correct.

I have been obliged to supply the punctuation,—as Defoe scarcely puts any commas, and only very rarely puts a full stop or other mark ;—and to regulate the use of capitals (in which I have followed modern usage), as he puts them quite at random, sometimes even writing a small letter after a full stop, he makes no distinction between the capital and the small *r*.

I have frequently inserted a hyphen where it facilitates comprehension, though Defoe never uses it. The apostrophe is often employed in abbreviations in the

MS., but occasionally I have supplied one in conformity with modern custom, as in the Saxon genitive, where Defoe never employs it. Now and then it was necessary to insert a word which had been accidentally omitted, and, though I do not think that in any instance there was room for doubt, all such additions are pointed out at the bottom of the page.

With these exceptions, I have endeavoured accurately to reproduce the original. I have retained Defoe's spelling, curious and faulty though it often is. In many words he is simply following the older method, but this will not serve to excuse his writing *harmony*, *propogate*, and the like, not once only, but frequently, or as often as the words occur ; and it is amusing to note that he scoffs at the country gentlemen for not knowing how to spell while laying himself so open to criticism. Blunders in spelling, therefore, I have only corrected where it was evident that letters had been unintentionally omitted or written twice, as *cucumber* for *cumber*, *degenerate* for *degenerate*, *bing*s for *bring*s ; these corrections also have been pointed out at the bottom of the page.

(Defoe was very fond of long sentences, and the MS. shows that he frequently inserted additional clauses, long or short, subordinate or otherwise, explanatory or merely ornamental. Thus the sentence often becomes so long that he is obliged to repeat the beginning of it with an "I say" ; and even then he seldom scruples to heap fresh superfluities on the others. It is therefore no wonder that he often forgets to complete the original construction, and follows the overflowing stream of his thoughts in a different direction.) I need hardly say that I have not altered such passages in order to

make his style more grammatically correct, nor have I made changes in any other cases where he builds up his sentences regardless of the ordinary rules of the English language. At the end of the volume I have endeavoured to clear up a few allusions which seemed to require explanation.

It appears, from a passage in the work, that Defoe intended to publish it anonymously; he may perhaps have been conscious that one whose conduct had often been unscrupulous and dishonest could hardly publish a treatise on such a subject under his own name.) (He begins by adopting the then current acceptation of the word "gentleman" as "a person *born* (for there lies the essence of quality) of some known or ancient family" (p. 13). Then he goes on to praise the nobility and gentry as "the glory of Creation, the exalted head of the whole race" (p. 20), and adds (p. 21), "I have the honour to be rank'd, by the direction of Providence, in the same class, and would be so far from lessening the dignity Heaven has given *us*, that I would add lustre to the constellated body, and make them still more illustrious than they are.") The whole book shows that he did not extend the word "gentleman" beyond the aristocracy and rich landed proprietors, among whom he could not, without incurring general ridicule, have classed himself; and he affects, throughout the whole book, to write as a gentleman for gentlemen. He was therefore, by necessity, compelled to conceal his name.)

He states on page 151 that he was induced to write the book by the case of a nobleman of ancient family, who deeply regretted his neglected education; but this

may be only an invention, as Defoe cannot be relied on in such matters.

I do not propose to give a summary of the whole work, which is not very consistently put together ; but I may mention a few points of special interest, while the longish headings of the chapters in the list of Contents will give an idea of the general plan of the work.

From the numbering of the chapters it is evident that the work is not complete, as also from the text ending abruptly in the middle of a narrative. As the last page of the MS. is covered with writing to the very bottom, we might suppose that part of the MS. is lost. But this assumption is rendered doubtful by a note in Defoe's writing on the back of the last leaf. It was his custom to write the number of the chapter on the blank back of the leaf which concluded it, and thus on the back of the last leaf we find *Part II. Chapter I.* It seems probable, therefore, that Defoe broke off here, perhaps interrupted by the mysterious misfortune which darkened the end of his life.

Notwithstanding its incompleteness, the work is valuable on many accounts, but especially for the picture it gives of the country gentlemen of the period. To this subject Macaulay has devoted special attention in the famous third chapter of his *History of England*, and his description has been accused of great exaggeration ; but Defoe's book corroborates all his statements, even to the remark that there were many justices of the peace who could hardly sign their names to the *mittimus* which their clerk had drawn up.) The curious reader should consult Defoe's own descriptions and remarks,

especially pages 57, 58, 65, 66, 89 *seq.*, 237, and the whole of the third chapter, in order to realize distinctly the state of ignorance and coarseness in which the majority of the nobility and gentry still continued to live. To make them ashamed of their want of culture, and to induce them to give their children a better education, is the principal aim (or at least the ostensible one) of the book, as is stated on pages 171, 172. It must be acknowledged that Defoe treats his subject with great dignity. His reasoning is throughout eminently calm and unpretending, nor does he ever assume a harsh or ungenerous tone; and, though he sometimes reads his victim a severe lecture, he never ceases to treat him as a friend, nor does he descend to mean abuse. He leaves on us the impression that he is not merely repeating commonplaces and platitudes, but that he speaks from his own experience and conviction; and, although there is very little method in the development of his argument, he does not fail to bring vigorously home the truths he wishes to impress upon his readers.

The book has, however, still another aim, and one well worthy of notice. In the second part, which unfortunately is not complete, Defoe treats of the *gentlemen by breeding*, and of the increase of their numbers from the ranks of the wealthy merchants. The honour due to trade is a favourite theme in many of his works, and here he pleads the cause of the rich tradesmen with much shrewdness and common-sense. He does not, indeed, claim the name of gentleman for the merchant who has amassed a fortune and bought an estate (p. 257); but he urges that the "polite son," who

has received a liberal education, should not be excluded from that honour, and that, in fact, he is admitted into some of the best families in Britain (p. 258.) It should be observed that Defoe never attempts to claim the name of gentleman for any professional man, nor for any one on account of his personal merit or character, except in one short passage, where he seems to hold that officers in the army and clergymen are gentlemen by right of their position (p. 46). He admits, in conformity with generally received opinion, that the root of the distinction lies in the possession of landed estates.

Another passage worthy of notice will be found on page 200 *seq.*, where Defoe repeats his famous disguised self-defence, and powerful attack upon the conceited scholar,¹ not quite in the same terms, but in very similar ones, and with even greater force. In both cases the passage is marked by the effective use of the *epiphora*, which consists in the frequent repetition of the bitter phrase, "And yet this man is no scholar!" On page 201 follows a renewed invective against the scholars, which distinctly recalls another passage contained in *Applebee's Journal*.² On page 203 he dwells on the distinction between the "man of polite learning" and the "meer scholar"; the former, he says, is a gentleman, and the latter a mere book-case. These and other similar passages show the bitter feeling left in his mind by the scornful treatment he had formerly received from University men.

¹ See *Applebee's Journal*, Oct. 30; the passage is reprinted in W. Lee's *Life and Unpublished Writings of Daniel Defoe*, iii. 435 *seq.*

² Of November 6.

A little farther on (Defoe enters more minutely on the question in what true learning consists;—"the knowledge of things," he says, "not words, make a scholar" (p. 212). He recommends the study of history, geography, astronomy, philosophy, and natural science, urging that one may know these things without being acquainted with the learned languages, as there are good translations of all Latin and Greek books of importance. "Thus, men may be scholars without Latin and philosophers without Greek" (p. 215). May any one, he asks, who has the knowledge of philosophy and all the other sciences, be called a man without learning, ignorant, and untaught, or does he not indeed deserve the name of a scholar? (p. 217.) The whole disquisition shows how highly Defoe valued the title of scholar, notwithstanding his previous invectives, and how much he would have liked to bear it.) But as the word is generally connected with a meaning different from that which he wishes it to bear, he misses his point, though in other respects his remarks are just and worthy of notice. The same thoughts, springing from the same feelings, are thus expressed by Goldsmith in his *Inquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning*, Chapter IX. :—

"To acquire a character for learning among the English, at present, it is necessary to know much more than is either important or useful. It seems the spirit of the times for men here to exhaust their natural sagacity in exploring the intricacies of another man's thought, and thus never to have leisure to think for themselves. . . . From this fault also arises that mutual contempt between the scholar and the man of

the world, of which every day's experience furnisheth instances.")

(Locke also had previously pronounced the opinion that "a great part of the learning then in fashion in the schools might be left out from the education of a gentleman without any great disparagement to himself, or prejudice to his affairs.") "School learning," as Mr. Quick has, no doubt justly, observed,¹ "was in those days even more estranged from the business of life than it has been since." Thus the protest of Defoe, who looked on life from a practical point of view, seems fully explained and justified.

(At the same time Defoe also takes occasion to denounce the practice of teaching in Latin, then general at grammar schools and the Universities, observing that if "science and all the liberal arts" were taught in English, this would greatly help to soon do away with the ignorance of the gentry (p. 208).)

(The work is written in the classic style which has so often been praised in Defoe. His mastery of language in this late work is still as complete and admirable as ever; the sentences flow in an uninterrupted stream, and the author never seems to hesitate except, as indeed often happens, to return to his proper subject after a digression into which his flood of language has carried him.) The most obvious peculiarity of his diction is the tendency to write over-long sentences, and to use as many words as possible; but this excessive copiousness of expression rarely or never destroys the lucidity, or even the simplicity, of his language. He never indulges

¹ *Essays on Educational Reformers*, 2nd edition, Cincinnati, 1888, p. 85.

in the clumsy or grotesque classical constructions which characterized many writers of the previous century, nor in the oppressive quotations from Horace, Virgil, and "their chiming train," upon whom so many others still liked to "draw a bill" (p. 222). (His only quotations are taken from Holy Scripture, when his subject suggests, perhaps, an allusion to David or to Solomon's fool. Sometimes his style certainly becomes a little too rhetorical, but not to any offensive extent ; and the general impression left on the mind is that his words were allowed to arrange themselves naturally as the course of his ideas suggested. He does not much concern himself with the elaborate balancing of sentences, nor go out of his way in search of choice words and laboriously polished expressions ;) but the ease, and freshness of his style make him delightful to read. (Nor does he make any deliberate efforts at wit, though a pleasant *jeu de mots* now and then occurs, as it were, spontaneously ;) or a happy simile gives poetic elevation to the page. I would instance especially his comparison of the happiness of an ignorant noble to that of a stag in his forest (p. 158), less for the appropriateness of the comparison than for the beauty of the language. It recalls some of the similes in the *Iliad*, where the poet, in elaborating his description, has lost sight of the comparison for which it was begun ; and the reader admires the vivid picture for itself rather than for any light which it throws on the original subject.

(Defoe tells us himself (p. 219) what his ideal style is ; it should be "manly" and "polite," "free and plain, without foolish flourishes and ridiculous flights

of jingling bombast, or dull meannesses of expression below the dignity of the subject." Notwithstanding some minor defects, such as the frequent use of "I say," "viz.," "as above," and other like locutions, which are really irritating, we must acknowledge that he succeeds fairly well in attaining his own standard.)

The length of the work and the very deliberate evolution of the argument will doubtless deter many readers, and I cannot defend the many superfluous repetitions of the same ideas, which, moreover, are sometimes superficial or commonplace. We should, however, remember that the book was not written for us hasty and fastidious moderns, but for the readers of his own time, who may be safely supposed to have had much more patience, and who had a special love for this kind of literature. (Goldsmith remarked (*The Bee*, No. 6), "Few subjects are more interesting to society at present, and few have been more frequently written upon, than the training of youth.") In fact, the press teemed, not only with English writings on the subject, but with translations of French, Italian, and Spanish books on education. It is not surprising, then, that Defoe, who always understood the public taste, should have taken up so promising a subject. (While former writers had, for the most part, produced only masses of dreary and unrelieved commonplace, he at least excites our interest, though of course his book is not to be compared with such a work as Locke's *Thoughts on Education*.)

Defoe has treated the subject in a manner of his own. There are many books, bearing the same title as his, or a like one, which give directions for the education of youth, and in some cases include a compendium of

necessary knowledge. (Defoe limits his efforts to the exposure of existing mistakes, only rarely suggesting plans for improvement ; and his aim is to show that a liberal education is necessary to a gentleman of good birth, and that without it he could not be called a "complete gentleman." In this attempt he lays so much stress on the acquisition of book-learning that he seems to forget the moral elements which form the character of a true gentleman. We should not, perhaps, treat this omission as indicating a fundamental defect of mind in Defoe himself ; yet it is significant that on page 274, where he describes a perfect gentleman, the mention of "his mind fortified with virtue and solid judgment against the fopperies and follies of the age," not only comes last, and as a mere addition to "his agreeable behaviour, his good humour, great stock of common knowledge, his knowledge of several modern languages, and his school learning," but here and in other places, when he makes a brief remark on "the noble and virtuous qualities of a gentle character," he utterly fails to express them distinctly or adequately.) He can only be in part excused for this deficiency by the aim of his book, which, it is true, gave his thoughts a somewhat different direction, as he desired to blame the gentry rather for ignorance than for lack of generous character.

There is sometimes considerable monotony in his discussions, from his dwelling too long on some one point ; but frequently the argument is enlivened by little stories, dialogues, and amusing anecdotes. In these, Peter the Great (of whom he had formerly written a *Life*) frequently appears, and he quotes sayings of

Charles II., of Queen Anne, and of his well-beloved William of Orange. (He also gives anecdotes of the Earl of Oxford, who once compared pedigrees with a newly created peer;) of Sir Thomas Hanmer, called *Number Fifty*; of the *Pension Parliament*; (and of a petition which had to be reprinted in order to make it intelligible to Members of Parliament, because the numbers in it were given in figures instead of full words.) There are even some stories which fill many pages and contain long conversations; they are told in a lively style, and are perhaps the best, certainly the most amusing, part of the book (*cf.* pp. 43-58, 123-141, 151-171, 188-208, 268-275, 276-278). As is his wont, Defoe introduces this latter kind of stories as taken from his own personal experience; but some probably are fictitious. Of course they interrupt the continuity of his arguments; and once he does not even scruple to relate a little story which does not touch at all upon the subject under consideration (*cf.* pp. 151-153); but he is ingenuous enough to confess that he is quite aware of this.

Finally, I will mention a very effective artifice, which Defoe sometimes uses with admirable skill in order to show the absurdity or the meanness of a thing. He sets up a mock defence, in which either the ridiculed person is introduced as defending his own cause, or the author stands up for the person whose folly he wants to expose, and conducts the defence in a perfectly natural and apparently serious tone. In both cases the result is a playful satire, which nevertheless shows the inanity of the cause in all its bareness (*cf.*, for instance, pp. 65-66).

In order to illustrate certain statements of Defoe's, I originally intended to append a number of notes at the end of the text ; on second thoughts, however, it seemed more advisable to arrange them in connected order and give them in the shape of forewords. Still, this introduction is not, and does not pretend to be, much more than a mere collection of notices principally intended to throw a clear light on two points, and necessary for a full appreciation of Defoe's works : (1) *The changes in the meaning of the word gentleman* ; (2) *The education of the upper classes of England in former times*. As the latter is a subject, or forms part of a subject, which has lately begun to interest not a few people in England, viz., the History of Education ; I feel confident that, though my remarks may be imperfect, they will not be thought altogether futile.

The collection of these notices has involved a large amount of work, as the material had to be dug up from a heap of old books, of which only few proved serviceable, and many did not yield any contribution at all. This may seem surprising, as it is well known that all the books on education down to the time of Rousseau—at least, all English books—are concerned only with the bringing up of young gentlemen. But I was less interested in the theory¹ than in illustrating the actual state of education ; besides, almost all the books, especially of the sixteenth and the earlier part of the seventeenth century, written as they are by pedantic scribblers, contain nothing but a dull tissue of childish

¹ A very useful book on the history of educational theory, in England, is Mr. Robert Hebert Quick's *Essays on Educational Reformers*, 2nd ed., Cincinnati, U.S.A., 1888.

rhetoric. Usually, they all follow the same insipid method, beginning their argument with a Latin or Greek quotation, going on with a lengthy declamatory exposition of its truth, and winding up with the unmeasured praise of some antique hero, Alexander or Cæsar, whom they represent as the paragon of excellent breeding.

A long list of these books is given in Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica* under the head *Education*; all the better ones will be found mentioned in the present sketch.

History of the meanings of the word "gentleman."

The English words *gentleman* and *gentlewoman* are simply translations of the French *gentil homme* and *gentille femme*, and thus originally meant only a man or woman born of a family of a certain social rank. It may be safely assumed that the Normans who accompanied William the Conqueror brought the terms with them, and that they were among the earliest words translated into English. Dr. Murray tells me that the slips for the *New English Dictionary* accordingly show the word *gentil*, in the meaning of "well born," in familiar use with all writers from about the year 1200; many of the instances are given in Prof. Ed. Mätzner's *Wörterbuch (Altenglische Sprachproben)*.

By reason of "collateral associations," which always adhere to words, the terms *gentleman* and *gentlewoman* came by degrees to connote all such qualities or adventitious circumstances as were usually found to

belong to persons of gentle origin.¹ Thus, mediæval writers frequently urge that without such virtues as "trouth, peté, fredome, and hardynesse, nobody ought to be called a gentleman."²

As a matter of course the additional meanings which the two words included, besides the quality of birth, must have varied in different ages according to the changing qualities, morals, and manners of persons of gentle extraction. In the age of chivalry a true gentleman was distinguished, besides his birth, by valour, honour, gentleness and respect towards the fair sex, truth, humility and piety; and knowledge of manly exercises, courteous manners, music and singing, acquaintance with the order of precedence in rank, and ability to carve, were his accomplishments rather than scholastic learning, or even the faculty to read or write.³ From this it is a long way to the modern definition which I remember to have read in a little American book⁴ devoted to the subject, saying "*the truest gentleman is he who combines the most cultivated mind with the most sympathetic and unselfish heart.*"

¹ I have been assisted in these remarks by Mr. Stuart Mill's discussion on the word in his *System of Logic*, quoted in Latham's ed. of Dr. Johnson's Dictionary, under "Gentleman."

² Wright, *Reliquæ Antiquæ*, vol. i. 252. I am indebted for this quotation as well as for other information on the above subject to Dr. Murray.

³ See Dr. Furnivall's very interesting and instructive account of early English education (p. iv.), printed as introduction to his collection of treatises on *Early English Meals and Manners*, for the Early English Text Society, 1868; and also in the second and third numbers of the *Quarterly Journal of Education*, 1887.

⁴ Its title is, *What is a Gentleman?*

It is curious to observe here that in all the instances of mediæval literature where the word *gentleman* is used it either directly refers to a man of gentle birth, or it is accompanied by an analysis of a true gentleman's qualities. The secondary meaning of the word seems in fact to have detached itself from the original one at a comparatively late period ; the corresponding word *gentlewoman* has apparently never had any other sense than that of a " woman of gentle birth," the word used for the secondary meaning being *lady*.

These changes in the meaning of the word are, of course, not merely verbal, but are closely connected with the social history of the times. During the Middle Ages the divisions of rank were strongly marked and firmly maintained. A wide and practically unsurpassable gulf divided commoners from the nobility and gentry. Nobody who was not born gentle would have thought of laying claim to the denomination of a gentleman, evidently for the simple reason that it only signified a man of gentle birth. Younger sons did not then, as they do to-day, form the connecting link between the two classes ; there were no learned professions in which they met with the man of lower birth, as they found ample occupation in the field and at Court. Even in the clergy, which comprised men of both classes, the higher and lower ranks were kept separate.

The few exceptions, where commoners rose to dignity and rank, do not shake the rule, the less so as the particular circumstances which attend them make the distinction only the more conspicuous.

Only at the time of the Reformation did this ex-

clusiveness of the upper classes begin to disappear. Learning henceforth took a different position.

In the Middle Ages, study in all its forms was left as an inferior pastime to a secluded class of people ; for in those warlike days a literary education was of little use for the business of life, and consequently enjoyed but little esteem. But when, from the sixteenth century, scholastic knowledge became of great and ever-increasing value, the esteem in which scholars and all professional men were held, increased too, as a matter of course. Then it became a shame to be ignorant, and the writers declare that "learning is an essential part of nobilitie."¹ About the same time the petty feuds of the nobility, as well as the great civil wars, ceased ; and as younger sons could no longer turn to the occupation of arms alone, they had to resort to the other professions as well. Besides, the splendour of chivalry had disappeared, and this had brought the nobility and gentry a good deal nearer the level of the ordinary man.

This was the time when commoners first raised the claim to being admitted among gentle-folk.

It is very instructive to compare here what the anonymous writer of a little book called *The Institution of a Gentleman*, blk. lr., 1555, says on the subject. The treatise has a special interest, dating, as it does, from the juncture when the social institutions of the Middle Ages had fallen to pieces and the foundation of modern society was being built on the ruins. The author leads with his subject not only systematically, but with a good deal of common sense and ability ; and the book

¹ Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman*, p. 18.

was reprinted in 1568 and 1579, and has also had the honour of a modern black letter reprint, in 1839. It distinguishes these three classes of gentle people: those who are called (1) *gentil gentil*, (2) *gentle vngentle*, and (3) *vngentle gentle*.

1. "*Gentil gentil*," the author explains, "is he which is born of noble kynred descendyng of gentle blud, as son to a duke, an erle, a baron, a lord, or more low, son to a knight, or an esquier, (for these degrees of nobilitie,) having ioyned with hys *gentle* house, *gentle* manners, and noble conditions." Learning is not mentioned here at all; only a good many pages later on the author observes that "for the further ornature and setting forth of hys person, a gentleman ought to be learned, to have knowledge in tounge, and to be apte in the feates of armes. . . . To suite a gentilman, also sume knowledge in musicke, or to know the use of musicall instrumentes, is much commendable."

2. "*Gentle vngentle* is that man whiche is descended of noble parentage, and hath in him such corrupt and vngentle *maners* as to the iudgement of al men hee iustly deserueth the name of vngentle."

3. "*Ungentle gentle* is hee whych is borne of a lowe degree, of a poore stocke, or of a lowe house; whyche man, by his vertue, wyt, pollicie, industry, knowledge in lawes, valency in armes, or such lyke honeste meanes, becometh a wel beloued and hygh esteemed man, *preferred then to great office*, put in great charg, and credit, even so much as he becometh a post or stay of the Commune Wealthe, and *so growynge ryche, doth thereby auance and set up the rest of his poore line or kindred; they are the children of such one commonlye*

called gentlemen ; of whych sort of gentleman we have now in England very many, whereby it should appeare that vertue flourisheth emong vs. These gentlemen are now called vpstartes, a terme latelye invented.

“ But this alloweth nothinge the newe sorte of menne whyche are run out of theyr order, and from the sonnes of handycraft men, have obteigned the name of gentlemen, the degre of esquiers, and title of knyghtes. These men ought to be called worshipful vnrworthie, for that they have crepte into the degree of worshippe wythoute worthines, neyther broughte thereunto by valencye ne vertue. Theyr fathers was contented to bee called goodmen John or Thomas, and now they, at euery assise, are clepid worshipfull esquiers, havyng them a lytle donghil forecast to get lands, neyther by their learning nor worthynes achiued, but purchased by certein darke augmentacion, practises by meanes wherof they be called gentilmen ; but they be abusiuey so called, by reason *their actes* neuer made them noble.

“ Therefore I do exclude and banysh al such out of this booke, of whom it doth not treat.

“ These be the righte vpstartes, and not those whyche clyme to honour by worthynes.”

From these remarks we may conclude that in the middle of the sixteenth century gentlemen formed still a rigorously exclusive caste, into which, besides persons of birth, comparatively only very few highly deserving men and their descendants were admitted. But at the same time we are told that, besides these, there are others who assume the name of gentleman by improper means, and the great indignation with which the author speaks of the rich merchants who creep into repute,

not by noble deeds, but by buying lands and estates, shows that this was then a novel practice. It is also interesting to read what our author observes on the proper callings of a gentleman. He declares that there are four "chiefe offices over others" which it is "most necessary that gentlemen should have the ministration of before any other sortes of persons:" 1. The post of "a manne of law;" 2. Of "a captayne in the warres. To bee a perfect soldier, he says, or captayne in the warres, or to have knowledge in the feates or armes, it is so honourable in a gentleman that there can be nothyng more prayse worthy; 3. Of ambassadoures between kynges and prynces; 4. Of justices of peace in the cuntrye. None but gentlemen should be in these offices. But apart from these there are manye moe offices and rounes fit for gentlemen. To be a customer of a hauen towne, or a bayly for wante of a larger fortune, necessitie hath rather enforced gentlemen, then their first institution: but that a gentle man be a sercher of sume porte or a sergeant in a citie, it is very vnmete for his institution."

Some of the offices which he recommends to the born gentlemen, were, or soon became, also open to commoners, and this necessarily raised such professional men of humble birth to the higher social position of their colleagues of gentle origin.

The *Institution of a Gentleman* is the earliest book I know of, which testifies to the beginning of those destructive changes and growing innovations which have formed modern society. Never before had it been declared that the name of gentleman was or should

be extended to other persons but men of birth. The line of demarcation between gentle and not gentle henceforth is moveable; and in progress of time more and more classes of people claim the honourable name of gentleman. The change, however, is only a very slow one, and, as is usual in cases of such gradual transitions, it is accompanied by a great deal of public discussion. It is superfluous to quote many of the writers, as they agree in all essential points, especially in the praise of learning and virtue. The subject is treated at great length, and not without ability, in an Italian book, called *Nennio*, and written by Sir John Baptista Nenna, which was translated into English by W. Jones, *Gent.*, in 1595. Here a nobleman defends his cause in a way which makes great concessions to the altered spirit of the age. "Learning," he says, on p. 18*b*, "is rather an ornament of nobilitie than cause thereof; it giueth a certain facilitie, or rather a beginning, vnto man to become honourable, but it doth not indeede *make* him noble . . . there wanteth somewhat else, and it is, riches; which are an ornament, or rather a part of nobilitie; which if thou dost conioine with learning, it may be that then I will beleue that he that posseseth both, is become noble." His opponent—for the book is mainly a dialogue—then shows that true and perfect nobility "consists in the virtues of the minde." But the author recognises the two new causes never acknowledged in the time of chivalry, which may make a gentleman—viz., education and wealth. Although in this treatise, as in *The Institution of a Gentleman*, and most other books, considerable trouble is taken in order to show the reader that "riches are an

ornament, not the cause of nobility,"¹ we may take it for granted that in practice rich men were more readily admitted to the name of gentlemen than any other class of society, and that it was they who first and most frequently made their way into the higher ranks.

The first direct mention which I know, of professions giving a claim to that name is in William Harrison's *Description of England* (in Holinshed's *Chronicles*), 1577. He says, in Book III. chapter iv.:² "Whosoever studieth the laws of the realm, whoso abideth in the university (giving his mind to his book), or professeth physic and the liberal sciences, or beside his service in the room of a captain in the wars, or good counsel given at home, whereby his commonwealth is benefited, can live without manual labour, and thereto is able and will bear the post, charge and countenance of a gentleman, he shall for money have a coat and arms³ bestowed upon him by heralds, and thereunto, being made so good cheap, be called master, which is the title that men give to esquires and gentlemen, and reputed for a gentleman ever after." A little later on, Harrison remarks that citizens "often change estate with gentlemen, as gentlemen do with them, by a mutual conversion of the one into the other." . . . Yeomen as well often "do come

(¹ H. Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622, 1627, 1634, 1661), p. 10 of ed. 1634.)

² Dr. Furnivall has edited the work in a condensed form for the "New Shakspeare Society" (1876); the most interesting parts of it form also a volume of the "Camelot Series," with the title *Elizabethan England* (ed. by Mr. Lothrop Withington), from which I have taken the quotations.

³ Shakspeare's father received a coat of arms in 1599.

to great wealth, insomuch that many of them are able and do buy the lands of unthrifty gentlemen, and often setting their sons to the schools, to the universities, and to the Inns of the Court, or otherwise leaving them sufficient lands whereupon they may live without labour, do make them by those means to become gentlemen."

(I take another passage from Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman*, p. 11; "We may ranke advocates," he says, "and physitians with the ennobled, or no," but "the exercise of merchandize is accounted base and most derogating from nobility." Personally, however, he pleads for the honest merchant.

Mulcaster assigns the following order to the four professions which he thinks a gentleman may take up:— (1) The counsellor; (2) the clergyman; (3) the lawyer; (4) the physician (*Positions*, 1581, ed. Quick, p. 202).

The opinion that trade was "wholly inconsistent with a gentleman's calling" (Locke, *Thoughts on Education*, 1693, p. 201), appears to have been more firmly maintained in previous times than in our century. But many writers share Peacham's conciliatory opinion. Addison and Steele take occasion in their writings to satirize those numerous poor younger sons who would rather "be starved like gentlemen, than thrive in a trade or profession that is beneath their quality." Defoe also makes great endeavours in his *Compleat English Gentleman* to show the absurdity of the common aversion among gentle-folk to commerce and trade.)

In Mulcaster's days also professional men of low birth still were protested against. Sir John Ferne, for instance, who wrote about the same time, does not recognize any others but born gentlemen, "It appeareth,"

he says, "that no man can be properly called a gentleman except he be a gentleman of *bloud*, possessing vertue" (*Blazon of Gentrie*, 1586, p. 87). The contrary opinion again appears in Selden's *Titles of Honour* (1631) thus: "Vulgar use now hath so altered the genuine sense of *generosus*, that it frequently denotes any kind of gentleman, either by birth or otherwise, truly enjoying that name, as well as *nobilis*."¹ The reason of these diverging opinions is, of course, that the word already included two distinct meanings.

According to Clement Ellis (*The Gentile Sinner*, 1660, and frequently, p. 10), there was at one time a great danger that the word might assume a very bad meaning: "Never," he exclaims, "honest name was more abused than this of *gentleman*; indeed it is to be feared that having been so long misapplied, it wil at last find the like hard measure with those other once more honest names of *tyrant* and *sophister*, and from a title of honour degenerate into a term of the greatest disgrace and infamy. *It is, indeed, already made to be of no better a signification than this, to denote a person of a licentious and an unbridled life*; for though it be, as 'tis used, a word of a very uncertain and equivocal sound, and given at random to persons of farre different, nay contrary both humours, descents, and merits, yet a gentleman must be thought only such a man, as may, without controle, do what he lists, and sin with applause: one that esteems it base and ungentile, to fear a God, to own a law, or practise a religion." With this we may compare the following passage, which is found in the *Tatler*,

¹ Both passages are quoted by Mr. Croft in his edition of Elyot's *Governor*, vol. ii. 27.

No. 66: "You see among men who are honoured with the common appellation of gentlemen so many contradictions to that character, that it is the utmost ill-fortune to bear it." The meanings of many words are indeed in a continual fluctuation; they represent in a great measure the character and prevalent opinions of the day, and the same word may signify "good" to-day and "bad" to-morrow.

Throughout all changes of secondary meaning, the primary English idea of a "gentleman," as being the owner of an estate, or one of the owner's family, remained intact; the longer the estate had been in possession of their ancestors, the more illustrious was their birth. The owner of a property so small that he had personally to superintend the cultivation, was a "yeoman," and no gentleman, a distinction not yet quite extinct in some parts of the country.

I will insert here a few short extracts from a little book of Charles II.'s time, which bears the title *The Courtier's Calling* (London, 1675), and is written by an anonymous "Man of Honour"—apparently a man of fashion. The second part of this book is devoted to the object of giving advice to younger sons how to provide for themselves. After observing that, unfortunately, it is impossible for gentlemen to "traffick" (p. 120), he, in the first instance, recommends to enter the army. The next best thing is to "attend a lord"; the master, it is true, will treat them meanly, "will often converse with others, whilst they must stand behind them with their hats off. One can hardly distinguish them in this posture from valets de chambre, and they are sometimes abused like villains.

It is very hard for a poor gentleman to undergo all these grievous disasters." Thirdly, if the young gentleman "perceives in himself a natural disposition to study [divinity, the laws, or medicine], he ought to apply himself thereto." The fourth profession, which the "Man of Honour" recommends quite seriously, is—gambling! He says (on p. 225): "So soon as we have gathered together a considerable stock of money, let us get into the greatest gaming-houses, and hold for a maxime always to attaque the best purses." On p. 227: "Cheating is somewhat (!) infamous, and unworthy of a gentleman, and is not to be endured by any gallant men." On p. 228: "Cheating is very dangerous, and therefore ought always to be avoided."

The comparatively very modern meaning of the word, when used to denote a man of a generous heart, quite irrespective of birth as well as station of life, is pointed out in the (*Tatler* (of June 16th): "The courtier, the trader, and the scholar," Steele observes, "should all have an equal pretension to the denomination of a gentleman. That tradesman who deals with me in a commodity which I do not understand, with uprightness, has much more right to that character than the courtier who gives me false hopes, or the scholar who laughs at my ignorance.") Probably there are few earlier passages where the word has that noblest of its meanings, than this in (Dekker's tragedies:

"The best of men

That e'er wore earth about him was a sufferer,
A soft, meek, patient, humble, tranquil spirit;
The first true gentleman that ever breathed.")

It seems to me that such passages are not only

very scarce, even after Defoe's day, but they appear to be always accompanied by a special reflection on the character of a "true," gentleman; and I am inclined to believe that the idea of a "gentleman by feeling" is in reality only a creation of the present century. (Readers of Defoe's *Compleat English Gentleman* will notice that, though he devotes many long discussions to the question who may be called gentlemen in addition to the gentry and nobility, there is nowhere the slightest indication that in his opinion a man might be a gentleman by virtue of a generous heart and a highly cultivated intellect. According to him, only immense wealth, joined with a good education, can impart the attribute *gentle* to a man of low origin.) It will, moreover, be remembered that in Fielding's novels the majority of the gentry exhibit a total lack of those good feelings, tastes, and habits which we are nowadays accustomed to attach to the name of gentleman; and only later, when a great number of the higher classes of society were possessed of those noble qualities which constitute, in our modern opinion, the true gentleman, could other men as well acquire that name by having the same qualities.

The Education of the Born Gentlemen.

1. *Fashionable Contempt for Learning.*
2. *Education at Home.*
3. *Education at Schools and Academies.*
4. *Education at Universities and Inns of Court.*
5. *Travelling.*
6. *Subjects of a Gentleman's Education.*
7. *Manners and Habits.*

The far better education of the born gentleman of the present day, the more careful cultivation of his mind is the most striking feature that distinguishes him from his predecessors, not only in the Middle Ages, but of much later times. Defoe's book reveals the deplorable state of ignorance in which the majority of the gentry still persisted in his day. It is the object of the subsequent pages to throw more light on the subject of his work by giving more particulars on this point from previous and contemporary writers. As the changes in the bringing up of the nobility and gentry from about the middle of the sixteenth century down to Defoe's time are slight and gradual, not fundamental, the historical treatment of the subject does not, I believe, necessitate separate dealing with the education in the different epochs, but a more or less strictly chronological arrangement of the matter seems to be sufficient.

Dr. Furnivall's article on "Early English Education" shows how low the state of learning was in the upper classes till about the time of the Reformation. The chief places of education for the sons of the nobility and gentry then were the houses of other noblemen, especially of the chancellors of the King, where, however, the youths learnt chiefly good manners and courtesy. Lack of book-learning, and even of the knowledge of using the pen, was by no means a disparagement. A little more was learnt in the houses of abbots and at monastic schools, where boys were taught to write, and acquired a tincture of barbarous Latin. But even in 1523 ignorance was still so common that Fitzherbert recommends that gentlemen unable to commit notes by writing should notch a stick to assist their memory

(*Husbandry*, p. 86; quoted by Henry, *History of England*, vol. vi. 648).

1. *Fashionable Contempt for Learning.*

The Reformation, which may be set down as the time when the great advantages of a well-regulated literary training became more generally recognized, found the nobility and gentry very conservative in this respect, as in all others; and even down to the days of Defoe and later, there are numerous signs to show that the highest classes of society persisted in an undue reluctance to adopt an education worthy of their position.

(In the year 1531, Sir Thomas Elyot says: "Some [men of noble or gentle birth] without shame, dare affirme that to a great gentilman it is a notable reproche to be well learned and to be called a great clerke, whiche name they accounte to be of so base estymation that they never have it in their mouths but whan they speke anythyng in derision" (10th edition of *The Governor*, by Mr. H. H. St. Croft, 1880, vol. i. p. 99).

(The author of *The Institution of a Gentleman* (1555) quotes a proverb—"He shoteth like a gentleman, faire and fur of"—which, he says, is used in a figurative sense "to the dispraysse of ignorant gentlemen." (Ascham, too, knows of the contempt for learning among the upper classes; he says (on p. 22 of Professor Mayor's edition): "If a father have foure sonnes, three faire and well formed both mynd and bodie, the fourth, wretched, lame, and deformed, his choice shal be, to put the worst to learning, as one good enough to becum a scholer. I have spent the most parte of my life in

the Universitee, and therefore I can beare good witnes that many fathers commonlie do thus.") Compare also, on pp. 53 and 64.—Peacham, *Complete Gentleman* (1622), p. 31, remarks: "Now adaies, parents [of rauk] either give their children no education at all (thinking their birth or estate will bear out that): or if any, it leaveth so slender an impression in them, that like their names cut upon a tree, it is overgrowne with the old barke by the next summer."¹ (Swift begins his *Essay on Education* (*Works*, 1841, ii. 290) with the remark that he has come to the conclusion that "education is always the worse in proportion to the wealth and grandeur of the parents." Later on (p. 292) he adds: "I do by no means confine these remarks to young persons of noble birth, the same errors running through all families where there is wealth enough to afford their sons (at least the eldest) may be good for nothing. Why should my son be a scholar, when it is not intended that he should live by his learning?") And again, on p. 291, he reports how once (a fashionable officer thought fit to interrupt the conversation of two gentlemen, one of whom was of the clergy; "professing to deliver the sentiments of his fraternity, as well as his own (and probably he did so of too many among them), [he] turned to the clergyman, and spoke in the following manner: "D—n me, doctor, say what you will, the army is the only school for gentlemen. Do you think my Lord Marlborough beat the French with Greek and Latin? D—n me, a scholar when he comes into good company, what is he but an ass?") D—n me, I would be glad by G—d to see any of your scholars, with his nouns and

¹ Compare also Locke, *Thoughts on Education*, § 90.

his verbs, and his philosophy, and his trigonometry, what a figure he would make at a siege, or blockade, or rencountering!—D—n me,” &c. (In Defoe’s book this fashionable contempt for the study of letters is probably justly represented by the long dialogue between the two brothers on p. 43 *sq.*; here and in many other places he introduces the elder sons and owners of estates as boasting of their ignorance, which they think sits well on their quality.)

2. *Education at Home.*

When the mediæval practice of bringing up boys of good birth in a nobleman’s family had fallen into disuse, private tuition at home seems to have become the ordinary course. The tutors were either undergraduates of the Universities who wanted to fill up their time, or young clergymen waiting for preferment, or professional teachers, the last, in all likelihood, mostly Frenchmen. In a wealthy family the tutor was usually one of the salaried dependents, and lived in the house, while in other cases the village parson or schoolmaster came up to instruct the squire’s children in private. A passage in Mulcaster’s *Positions* (1581) shows that private tuition was the course often adopted even by “the gentleman which flyeth not so high, but fluttereth some little above the ordinarie common” (ed. R. H. Quick, p. 189). Mulcaster, who did not approve of private tuition, recommended that “rich people should keep a private master, and send him with the child to the common school.”

Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1581–1648) gives similar advice in his *Autobiography* (ed. Sidney J. Lee,

p. 46): "When children go to school, they should have one to attend them who may take care of their manners, as well as the schoolmaster doth of their learning."¹

Frequently the private tutors only prepared their pupils for a school, but in other cases for the University, to which they sometimes followed them. Lord Herbert of Cherbury had a tutor till about the age of ten, when he was sent to the school of Thomas Newton, a graduate of both Cambridge and Oxford, and a good classical scholar. He stayed there two years, and was then, at twelve years old, sent to Oxford, to University College (*Autobiography*, p. 37).

J. Gailhard (*The Compleat Gentleman*, 1678, p. 17) says, "The way of some, first to have a tutor at home, then to send the boys to a Free School, so to the University (when they are fit for it), is often attended with success."

In the year 1732 John Littleton Costeker, in his book entitled *The Fine Gentleman*, p. 17, marks out the following course of education for a gentleman's son:—"When the boy is six years old, the first thing I recommend to be done, should be to be well instructed,

¹ Girls also received their education from private tutors. Cf. *Autobiography of Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson, daughter of Sir Allen Apsley*, born 1616 (Bohn's Standard Library, pp. 16-17):—"As soon as I was weaned, a Frenchwoman was taken to be my day-nurse, and I was taught to speak English and French together. By the time I was four years old, I read English perfectly. When I was about seven years of age, I remember I had at one time eight tutors in several qualities, languages, music, dancing, writing, and needlework. My father would have me learn Latin, and I was so apt, that I outstripped my brothers who were at school, though my father's chaplain, that was my tutor, was a pitiful dull fellow."

under the care of a proper master at home, in orthography. That done, and he capable of reading and writing true English, let him be transferred to some genteel academy, where he might be well instructed in the grounds and principles of religion ; . . . let grammar, Latin, French, be his studies, till he is expert in them ; all which I allow him seven years to compleat, or at least to have made a considerable progress in : these things properly attained, let him be removed to the University, and continue with a strict and careful tutor four years ; in that time, as his judgment ripens, let his genius follow its proper inclination to pursue those studies he likes best."

Many other writers recommend a similar course, but it is evident that some superficial and barely elementary instruction at home was frequently deemed by the parents quite sufficient, especially for the heir of an estate, as in the case of the country squire in *Joseph Andrews* (book iii. chap. 7,) whose education is thus described by Fielding :—" He had been educated, if we may use the expression, in the country and at his own house, under the care of his mother and a tutor, who had orders never to correct him, nor to compel him to learn more than he liked, which it seems was very little, and that only in his childhood, for from the age of fifteen he addicted himself entirely to hunting, and other rural amusements, for which his mother took care to equip him with horses, hounds, and all other necessities ; and his tutor, endeavouring to ingratiate himself with his young pupil, who would he knew be able handsomely to provide for him, became his companion, not only at these exercises, but also over a

bottle, which the young squire had a very early relish for."

From Swift's remarks, quoted above, and from numerous passages in Defoe's book, it appears that a thorough education was only thought necessary for younger sons, who had to make their own way in the world. Locke (*Thoughts on Education*, § 16) says expressly that gentlemen sent to grammar schools only their younger sons, intended for trades. But the son who was to inherit the title grew up in idleness among the grooms and gamekeepers; and if he was taught to read and write a little, it was thought enough for him. Even this modicum of instruction was often forgotten in after-life. It must therefore be borne in mind that what is said, later on, of school and university education applies only in a limited degree to elder sons.

The position of tutors was not an enviable one, and many of them probably deserved nothing better. Accusations against them of ignorance, and even of bad morals, occur as frequently as complaints of the low pay and the little esteem with which they were rewarded.

Elyot, in his *Governour* (ed. H. H. St. Croft, 1880, vol. i. p. 163), exclaims: "Lord God, how many good and clene wittes of children be now-a-days perissed by ignorant schole-maisters."¹

In a foot-note, Mr. Croft cites the following passage from Henry Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman* (1634):—"For one discreete and able teacher, you shall find twenty ignorant and carelesse, who, whereas they make one scholler, they marre ten."

Higford (*Institution of a Gentleman*, 1660, p. 591)

¹ Cf. also vol. i. p. 166.

names three good tutors: "Sir John Higford, who was an eminent man in his country, had for his tutor the famous Bishop Jewel; my father, Dr. Cole, an excellent governor; myself, Dr. Sebastian Benefield, a very learned man, all three of Corpus Christi College, Oxon."

Defoe calls them "murderers of the children's morals" (p. 71); and again (p. 87) he repeats that they are "not only the ruine of the children's heads, but of their moralls also."

From Roger Ascham, the learned preceptor of Queen Elizabeth, we learn how much the tutors were paid in his day. He says (p. 20 in J. Mayor's edition): ("It is a pittie, that commonlie more care is had, yea, and that emongst verie wise men, to finde out rather a cunnyng man for their horse, than a cunnyng man for their children.¹ They say nay in worde, but they do so in deede. For to the one they will gladlie give a stipend of 200 crownes by year, and loth to offer to the other 200 shillings."

A similar passage is found in Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman* (1634), p. 31: "Such is the most base and ridiculous parsimony of many of our gentlemen (if I may so terme them) that they can procure some poore Batcheler of Arts from the Universitie, to teach their children to say Grace, and serve the cure of an impropriation, who wanting meanes and friends, will be content, upon the promise of ten pound a yeere, at his first coming to be pleased with five. . . . Is it not commonly seene, that the most gentlemen will give better wages, and deale more bountifully with a fellow

¹ Cf. also Elyot, *Governour*, i. 131.

who can but teach a dogge, or reclaime an hawke, than upon an honest, learned and well qualified man to bring up their children ! ”

Defoe speaks of a salary of £100 as *extremely* liberal (pp. 206 and 213). The same amount was offered to Addison by the Duke of Somerset, who thought his proposal a magnificent one, and wrote thus to Tonson, through whom he made it : “ I desire he may be more on the account of a companion in my son’s travels, than as a governor, and as such I shall account him.” The Duke was much offended that Addison showed no great eagerness to accept the offer, and looked out for another and cheaper tutor.¹

In further illustration I quote a passage from Swift’s *Essay on Education* (*Works*, 1841, vol. ii. 291), as it is contemporary with Defoe’s book, and gives a very vivid account of the generally miserable private tuition of his times :

“ Another hindrance to good education, and I think the greatest of any, is that pernicious custom, in rich and noble families, of entertaining French tutors in their houses. These wretched pedagogues are enjoined by the father to take special care that the boy shall be perfect in his French, by the mother, that master must not walk till he is hot, nor be suffered to play with other boys, nor be wet in his feet, nor daub his clothes ; and to see that the dancing master attends constantly, and does his duty ; she further insists that he be not kept too long poring on his book, because he is subject to sore eyes, and of a weakly constitution.

(“ By these methods, the young gentleman is, in

¹ W. J. Courthope’s *Life of Addison*, pp. 52 and 55.

every article, as fully accomplished at eight years old, as at twenty-eight, years adding only to the growth of his person and his vice). . . . the same airs, the same strut, the same cock of his hat, and posture of his sword (as far as the change of fashion will allow), the same understanding, the same compass of knowledge, with the very same absurdity, impudence and impertinence of tongue.

"He is taught from the nursery that he must inherit a great estate, and has no need to mind his book, which is a lesson he never forgets to the end of his life. His chief solace is to steal down and play at spin-farthing with the page, or young black-a-moor, or little favourite foot-boy, one of which is his principal confidant and bosom friend."¹

3. *Education at Schools and Academies.*

Apart from the religious schools mentioned above, Winchester College (founded in 1373) was probably the only school of importance for the education of the gentry till the foundation of Eton in 1440. A few more endowed grammar schools were added, before the close of the century, to those already existing. But by the dissolution of the monasteries at the time of the Reformation, more than a hundred of the flourishing schools connected with them were destroyed, and great additions to the grammar schools became necessary, which were effected in the course of the next fifty years.²

¹ With this may be compared John Littleton Costeker, *The Fine Gentleman*, 1732, p. 10.

² See Warton's *History of English Poetry*, ed. 1840, vol. iv. p. 9; and Dr. Furnivall's Essay, p. lii.

They were mainly founded for citizens' and townsmen's children, but, as they were the best schools in the country, the sons of gentlemen were also sent to them. As an instance I quote the following passage from the *Autobiography of Mrs. L. Hutchinson* (Bohn's Standard Library, p. 46) :—"When it was time for them to go to school, both the brothers [*i.e.*, Colonel Hutchinson, born in 1616, son of Sir Thomas, and his brother] were sent to board with Mr. Theobalds, the master of the Free School at Nottingham, who was an excellent scholar. . . . Afterwards they were removed to the Free School at Lincoln. But the master was such a supercilious pedant, and so conceited of his own pedantic forms, that he gave Mr. Hutchinson [*i.e.*, the Colonel] a disgust of him. And he profited very little there [p. 50]. Afterwards he was removed from Lincoln back to the Free School at Nottingham, and he was left at board in a very religious house. . . . Then he was sent to Cambridge."

On pages 16 and 17, Mrs. Hutchinson mentions that *her* brothers also were sent to school. Besides the free grammar schools, there were private schools for the education of gentlemen's sons, at one of which Lord Herbert of Cherbury received part of his education. He had previously been privately taught by a school-master,¹ "the alphabet, and afterwards grammar, and other books commonly read in schools." "On this theme, *Audaces fortuna juvat*," he says, "I made an oration of a sheet of paper, and fifty or sixty verses, in the space of one day." This was before he had attained the age of nine, up to which time he lived "in my lady

¹ See the edition of his *Autobiography*, by S. L. Lee, p. 36 *seq.*

grandmother's house at Eyton." About the age of ten he was sent to be taught by Mr. Thomas Newton, a graduate of both Cambridge and Oxford, and a well-known classical scholar, who had a school at Diddlebury, in Shropshire, where in the space of less than two years he attained to the knowledge of the Greek tongue and logic. At the age of twelve, he went to Oxford.

Some of the better schools were called *academies*, and claimed to hold a position intermediate between a University or college and a school; *cf.* the passage from Costeker, quoted above. Distinct from these academies were establishments for teaching special arts and accomplishments, such as riding and fencing. It was to academies of this description that young gentlemen used principally to go when they were sent on the Continent.¹

Many gentlemen's sons had, as stated above, had a tutor at home before going to school, but some did not receive such preliminary instruction. Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke (born 1678), was sent to Eton "as soon as it was fit to take him out of the hands of the women, and removed thence to Christ Church College, in Oxford" (see his *Life* by O. Goldsmith).

The subjects taught in public schools up to Defoe's time, and indeed much later, were almost exclusively the dead languages, Latin and Greek, and in the upper forms, sometimes Hebrew and Arabic.² From the

¹ For these academies, see later on.

² *Cf.* Thomas Fowler, *Life of Locke*, p. 170. Three very instructive articles on the subjects studied in the schools of Shakspeare's time, by the late Prof. T. Spencer Baynes, to which Mr. Quick has

writings of Ascham, Mulcaster, Brinsley, Locke, and many others, it appears that this linguistic training was carried on in the dullest possible manner, by means of learning by heart, and writing verses, themes, and grammatical exercises.) The results of such training, on average boys, must have been most unsatisfactory to the common-sense of many fathers, who would therefore think such a course scarcely necessary for the heir of a large estate, though they might be alive to the advantages of a learned education for their younger sons, who had to make their own way in the world.

How common such views were, appears constantly throughout Defoe's book; he endeavours to bring home to the minds of his readers the value and importance of learning, apart from its mere practical usefulness.

The position of schoolmasters seems very frequently to have been even worse than that of private tutors; especially the condition of ushers at private establishments was simply dreadful. Every one knows the passage in the *Vicar of Wakefield* (chap. xx.) which describes the hardships of an usher's life at a boarding school: "I had rather be an under-turnkey in Newgate. I was up early and late, brow-beat by the master, hated for my ugly face by the mistress, worried by the boys within, and never permitted to stir out to meet civility abroad." They had to dress the boys' hair, and to lie three in a bed.

referred me, were published in *Fraser's Magazine*, Nov. 1879, and Jan. and May 1880. Prof. Baynes gives a long list of the Latin books then commonly used in the six forms of a grammar school.

In the sixth number of *The Bee* (Nov. 10, 1759) Goldsmith published a fictitious letter on the same subject. He says that, though some of the London youth were then educated at free schools in the City, "the far greater number were sent to boarding schools about town." He goes on to remark that "if any man is unfit for any of the professions, he finds his last resource in setting up school;" among such are bankrupts in trade, and even former butchers and barbers;¹ that of all members of society there is "not any more generally despised, or whose talents are so ill-rewarded, though none is more useful or more honourable than a schoolmaster. Their salary is £20." These schools, it may be said, were not the places to which gentlemen usually sent their sons. But we may infer a great deal from such facts as to the condition of the superior teachers.

What we may suppose to have been the opinion about schoolmasters commonly held by the gentry of Defoe's time may be gathered from the language which he puts into the mouth of the mother (p. 7);—that it is the *mother*, and not the ruder father, perhaps gives additional significance to the words:—"Shall *my son* be sent to school to fit bare-headed and say a lesson to such a forry diminutiv rascall as that, be brow beaten and

¹ Readers will remember that Mr. Partridge, in *Tom Jones*, while he was still parish schoolmaster, added to that office those of a clerk and a barber. He had married a wife out of Mr. Allworthy's kitchen for her fortune—viz., £20. The village schoolmaster from whom Goldsmith received his early education had served as quarter-master in an Irish regiment through the campaigns of Marlborough.

hector'd and threaten'd with his authority and stand in fear of his hand! *my son!* that a few yeares after he will be glad to cringe to, cap in hand, for a dinner! no, indeed, *my son* shall not go near him. Let the Latin and Greek go to the D—l. *My son* is a *Gentleman*, he sha'n't be under such a scoundrel as that."

A hundred and fifty years before Goldsmith's day even first-class teachers received still less than £20.¹ Mulcaster, the first head-master of Merchant Taylors' School (1561-1596), was paid £10, the same amount as each of his three ushers; however, Mr. Hills, the Master of the Company to whom the school belonged, undertook to double Mulcaster's £10 out of his own pocket. When Mulcaster, after this grant had ceased, applied to the Company for an increase of salary, his very reasonable request was refused.²

Discipline was very rigorous at schools in Defoe's time, and long before, as is shown by many authorities. In 1531, Elyot complains of the cruelty of school-masters (*The Governour*, ed. H. H. St. Croft, 1880, i. 50). Ascham tells us, in the Preface to his *Schole-master*, that he was induced to write the book by hearing "that divers scholars of Eton had run away from the school for fear of beating." While Ascham speaks strongly against corporal punishment, it is advocated

¹ The difference in the value of money then and now must be recollected. Bishop Latimer, in one of his sermons (*temp.* Edward VI.) recommended that Melancthon, if he came to England, should be granted a pension of £40 a year, which he evidently thought handsome for a man of European reputation.

² Taken from Mr. Quick's Appendix to his edition of Mulcaster's *Positions*, pp. 301, 302.

by Mulcaster (in his *Positions*, ed. Quick, p. 274): "The Maister therefore must have in his table a catalogue of schoole faultes, beginning at the commandementes, for swearing, for disobedience, for lying, for false witness, for picking, and so thorough out; then to the meaner heresies, trewantry, absence, tardies, and so forth. . . . Which in all these I wish our maister to set down, with the number of stripes also, immutable though not many." He even appointed boys who had to inform their master of the misdemeanours of the others (p. 275). In a subsequent passage (p. 279), (he affirms that "myselfe have had thousands under my hand whom I never bet, neither they ever much needed; but if the rod had not bene in sight, and assured them of punishment if they had swarved to much, they would have deserved."

Locke is another writer who denounces the use of the rod, which he says is the only instrument of government that tutors generally know, or even think of (*Thoughts on Education*, § 47). Even in the Universities corporal punishment was in use. Milton is said to have been flogged when at Christ's College, Cambridge. The latest instance is reported in 1667, in the Admonition Book of Emmanuel College.¹ At a later date Dr. Johnson bears witness to the great severity exercised at Lichfield School, where he was educated. It is not perhaps surprising that such treatment was thought unworthy the future representative of an ancient family, an opinion repeatedly expressed in Defoe's book. But it seems to have been not uncommon to treat gentlemen's sons with exceptional leniency. J.

¹ Cf. Mark Pattison's *Life of Milton*.

(Gailhard, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1678), p. 17, says: "In some schools, he [*i.e.*, the gentleman's son] will neglect his book, and fall into a disorderly course of life, often running to and fro, which some masters will wink at for their interest, to perpetuate them in the school." And Swift tells us in his *Essay on Education* (*Works*, 1841, p. 292) that "they [*i.e.*, the gentlemen's sons] were not suffered by their careful parents to stay [at school] about three months in the year.")

4. *Education at the Universities and Inns of Court.*

Defoe complains, on p. 55, that so few elder sons were sent to the universities; of 30,000 families of noblemen and gentlemen of estate which might be reckoned up in the kingdom, he says there are not 200 eldest sons at a time to be found in Oxford and Cambridge, whilst there are ten times that number of younger sons. For the heir, it was considered to be more becoming to remain at home and to grow up in ignorance and idleness. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, though he recommends that also eldest sons should go to the University, does not approve for them "that course of study which is ordinary used in the University, which is, if their parents perchance intend they shall stay there 4 or 5 years, to employ the said time as if they meant to proceed Masters of Art and Doctors in some science: for which purpose, their tutors commonly spend much time in teaching them the subtleties of logic, which, as it is usually practised, enables them for little more than to be excellent wranglers, which art, though it may be tolerable in a

mercenary lawyer, I can by no means commend in a sober and well-governed gentleman."¹

Though formerly boys were generally sent to the University earlier than nowadays the sons of the aristocracy frequently went to college before they had even entered their teens.

Lord Herbert of Cherbury (born 1581) was twelve years old when he entered University College, Oxford. H. Peacham, in his *Compleat Gentleman* (1634), p. 33, says: "Many parents take their children from schoole, as birds out of the nest, ere they bee flidge, and send them so young to the Universitie, that scarce one among twenty prooveth ought." Clement Ellis, *The Gentile Sinner* (1661), p. 25, blames parents for the same mistake: "But the hopefull youth must be a gentleman, and in all hast he must be sent to see the University or Innes of Court; and that before he well knowes what it is to go to school."² Thus it often became necessary to send a special governor or tutor with boys to the University. This is recommended by Lord Herbert, in his *Autobiography*, p. 47: "When the young gentleman shall be ready to go to the University, it will be fit also his governor for manners to go along with him." Swift is very hard on those (French) tutors who, he says, "attend their pupils to their college to prevent all possibility of their improvement" (*Essay on Education*, p. 292.) "And thus," he

¹ In his *Autobiography*, ed. Lee, p. 48.

² The proper age for leaving the University in Goldsmith's time was twenty-one years, when the first degree was generally taken, four years after matriculation; cf. chap. xiii. of his *Inquiry into the Present State of Learning*.

continues, "they learn nothing more than to drink ale and smoke tobacco." Clement Ellis is of the same opinion in this matter. He observes, in his *Gentile Sinner* (1661), pp. 25-27: "The father keeps the governor (as he doth all things else) for fashion's sake. Such an one who may serve at least, as poore boyes do in some princes' Courts to sustain the blame of the young gentleman's miscarriages, and whom the father may chide and beat when the son is found in a fault. . . . The son curses his tutor by the name of Baal's priest, and sells more bookes in half an houre than he had bought him in a yeare. . . . Thus the young gentleman continues, perhaps, a yeare or two [at the University], if he have no mother upon whom he must bestow at least 3 parts of that time in visits. . . . And now it is time he should be hasten'd away to some Inne of Court, there to study the Law as he did the Liberall Arts and Sciences in the Colledge. Here his pretence is to study and follow the Law, but it's his resolution never to know or obey it (p 27). . . . Here indeed he learnes to be (in his notion of the man) somewhat more a gentleman then before, having now the mock-happinesse of a licentious life, and a manumission from the tyranny (as he termes it) of a school-master and tutor."

5. Travelling.

According to Locke (*Essay on Education*, § 212), travelling was "commonly thought to finish the work of education and to complete the gentleman." The ordinary time of travel was from 16 to 21, but for the sake of the young gentleman's morals, Locke

thinks it fittest for him to be sent abroad, "either when he is younge, under a tutor, or when he is some years older, without a governor, when he is of age to govern himself." The majority of the country gentry, though, probably did not travel; and Defoe remarks, in a deleted note on fol. 14, *back*, "that whilst the younger brothers were sent abroad, the eldest son was thought not to be in need of it."

The countries ordinarily visited were Italy, France, Spain, Germany, and the Netherlands, but more especially the former two, which were then in the forefront of civilization or, perhaps, more strictly speaking, civility. Till the seventeenth century Italy and Provence held the very first rank, and then gradually lost their place to France. The great dependence of English manners and fashions on those foreign countries is at once apparent from the numerous translations of Italian, Spanish, and French books on civility, education, manners, and similar subjects.¹

A very interesting account of how young gentlemen used to spend, or rather should spend, their time during their travels, is given in a book already mentioned above, viz., *The Compleat Gentleman, or Directions for the Education of Youth, as to their Breeding at home and travelling abroad*, by J. Gailhard, *Gent.*, 1678 and 1684. The author knew the subject from personal experience, as he had himself been much abroad as the tutor of gentlemen.

On page 7, he remarks that "because young gentle-

¹ For titles of such books see Watts' *Bibliotheca Britannica*, s.v. *Education*; from some of them extracts are given in this Introduction.

men are hardly capable to benefit themselves, they take a governor, or companion with them." However, "some [parents] send their sons without governors . . . because some young men think it a discredit to them to have a governor."

Gailhard's advice is to take an experienced tutor, not one who has never been abroad himself and does not know foreign languages, but seeks only for an opportunity of travelling at the cost of others. But some fathers, "who are willing to spend three or four hundred pounds, more or less, will be unwilling to gratify a governor with £20 or £30 more than they have a mind to allow." This, however, is saving in the wrong place. The principal qualities requisite in a good governor are, according to Gailhard: (1) He must be a scholar, (2) a traveller, (3) he must be "gentle, well brought up himself; he must have seen the world, and frequented the courts, and (4) he must be communicative, not dull or silent."

On page 31, Gailhard recommends letters of credit as preferable to bills of exchange, and advises travellers always to carry a good sum of ready money in their pockets; for "what, if when I am walking in the street, I am unhappily forced, or suddenly engaged in my own defence, or of a friend, to draw, and wound, or kill a man, which thing is not impossible, what would become of me, if I had no monies to get on horse-back, and be gone?"

Well provided with letters of recommendation, and having left England, "the governor will carry his pupil to Paris [p. 33], where he ought to show him some of the chief fair houses, and other

curiosities in or about that city. He must wait upon the Lord Ambassador, and in case there be no inconvenience, what other English persons of the highest quality are there. He will also do well to go, if he makes but a short stay in Paris, at least once to Charenton, to the Protestant Church there, whether or not he understands the language, to give God thanks for his protection so far."

It appears that the Englishmen who travelled for the sake of instruction used to live at *Pensions* and *Auberges*, or resided in *Academies*. Gailhard does not think it advisable for the tourists to make a long stay in Paris at the beginning of the journey, but recommends that they should settle at such a place as Orleans, Blois, Saumur, or Angers; which latter, to his mind, ought to have the preference; why, he does not say.

Here (p. 35), "the first thing you do must be to carry your letters of commendation," and then "to desire your landlord to go with you, or give you some rational man to carry you to see the town."

P. 38: "If there be any princes, though strangers, or ambassadors, residents, etc., you may enquire whether they like to receive such visits as yours may be; you may desire those you are recommended to, to procure you the honour of kissing their hands." P. 46: "The young gentleman must soon set to work, and begin the different important excercises to which he has to apply himself." For besides studying the language of the country, he has, first of all, to learn dancing. Gailhard mentions the *Branle*, the *Gavote*, the *Courante*, and the *Borée*, as dances then in vogue. P. 49: In these dancing lessons the pupil must also be taught

"how to come in or go out of a chamber where is company ; he must be taught how to carry his head, his hands, and his toes out, all in the best way." Next comes fencing, which "is now accounted a necessary exercise" (p. 49). The pupil has, moreover, to learn, to ride the Great Horse at an "Academy." P. 52 : Besides, he recommends running, wrestling, and leaping though "these are not so material as the forenamed," "A gentleman will also do well to learn vaulting, trailing the pike, spreading colors, handling the halbard, or the two-handed sword. Also it will not be amiss to learn to play upon an instrument or other, of musick ; as the lute, gittar, or violin."

P. 54 : At the same time he has to make himself acquainted with "the use of the map and the use of the terrestrial globe, as well as with the science of Mathematicks and with Chymistry."

On page 56, Gailhard remarks, "If a traveller hath time, and happens to be in a convenient place, as may be Padoa, Montpellier, or other, it would be in him a commendable curiosity to learn something in Physick not to be a doctor of, or to practise it, only to be able to understand the grounds of it."

P. 57 : At other places, "perhaps at Orleans and Angers, where are publick schools of the Civil Law, he will do well to get one of the doctors, or professors thereof, to read it to him, which he will do privately in his own house ; or, perhaps, if you be a man of high quality, come to your lodging." P. 58 : "And perhaps there will be time and opportunity for the young gentleman to learn to draw pictures." And last of all, "let him not neglect to see, and if possible

to get some skill in ancient and modern curiosities, whether pictures, statues of brass, marble, alabaster, &c., medals, and other fair and curious things."

For the whole tour, the author of this curious work—which gives more details than a dozen of the usual kind of books on such subjects—allows 3 years, which he recommends should be divided in the following way:—The first 18 months are put down for France, the next 9–10 for Italy, then 5 for Germany and the Low Countries, after which the tour should be wound up with a stay of 4 or 5 months in Paris.

Travelling was often expected to make up for the neglected training of previous years, as in the case of the young squire in *Joseph Andrews* (book iii. chap. vii.) who has already been mentioned as a typical specimen; he was sent abroad at the age of 20, when "his mother persuaded him to travel for 3 years, which she imagined would well supply all that he might have learned at a public school or university. . . . He returned home well furnished with French clothes, phrases, and servants, with a hearty contempt for his own country, especially what had any savour of the plain spirit and honesty of our ancestors."¹

The great dangers to the morals of young travellers are frequently mentioned as a warning to conscientious parents. Ascham, in his *Scholemaster* (p. 69, ed. Mayor), strongly denounces travelling as "mervelous dangerous for morals and faith," unless the youths were put under the supervision of a tutor; for "an Italianate Englishman is a devil incarnate," as the Italians themselves said. His warning is repeated in

¹ Cf. also Costeker, *The Fine Gentleman* (1732), p. 22.

even stronger terms by William Harrison, in *A Description of England* (1577, book iii. chapter iv.): "This nevertheless is generally to be reprehended in all estates of gentility, and which in short time will turn to the great ruin of our country, and that is, the usual sending of noblemen's and mean gentlemen's sons into Italy, from whence they bring home nothing but mere atheism, infidelity, vicious conversation, and ambitious and proud behaviour, whereby it cometh to pass that they return far worse men than they went out." Brinsley (*Ludus Literarius*, 1612, p. 229) is aware of the same objections, but recommends going abroad. Peacham (*Compleat Gentleman*, 1634, p. 33) declares that, instead of learning anything or improving their manners, the young gentlemen generally come back "ten times worse." Lord Cowper, on his deathbed, ordered that his son should never travel. His injunction was based on a good deal of observation on the effects of foreign journeyings. He had found that there was little to be hoped, and much to be feared, from travelling.¹ It seems that young travellers had not only to guard themselves against the vicious examples on the part of natives of foreign countries, but were tempted by the extravagant fashions of their own countrymen who had settled abroad. This appears, for instance, from Goldsmith's remarks, in his *Inquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning*, chap. xiii., where he says: "In all the great towns of Europe there are to be found Englishmen residing either from interest or choice. These generally lead a life of continued debauchery: such are the country-men a traveller is likely to meet with.

¹ Quoted in W. J. Courthope's *Life of Addison*, p. 40.

This may be the reason why Englishmen are all thought to be mad or melancholy by the vulgar abroad. Their money is giddily and merrily spent among sharpers of their own country."

6. *Subjects of a Gentleman's Education.*

This question has already been touched on here and there in the preceding sections, but I propose to add now some fuller particulars. It should, however, be kept in mind that the following extracts only state what young gentlemen ought to learn, not what they commonly did learn.

The author of *The Institution of a Gentleman* (1555) names "knowledge in tounages, and in the feates of armes," and "sume knowledge in musike" as necessary for a gentleman.

Mulcaster, *Positions* (1581), enumerates the following accomplishments which a gentleman ought to possess "for his credit and honour, besides necessarie uses"—viz., "to *reade*, to *write*, to *draw*, to *sing*, to *play*, to haue *language*, to haue *learning*, to haue *health*, and *activitie*, nay euen to professe *Diuinitie*, *Lawe*, *Physicke*, and any trade else commendable for cunning."

William Kemp, the author of *The Education of Children*, blk. 1r., 1588, names (1) Grammar, "which handleth diuers languages, as English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and such others;" the pupil should begin with the study of Latin, and only in case he was intended to be a scholar should he go on with Greek;

¹ Modern edition by Mr. Quick, p. 206.

(2) "Logike and Rhetorike;" (3) "Arithmetike and Geometrie, or any other arte."

Henry Peacham (1622) gives this list of subjects in which a noble gentleman should be instructed:— Style (which has to be practised after Latin and English models),¹ History, Cosmographie, Geography, Geometry, Poetry, Musicke, Antiquities (Statues, Inscriptions, Coynes), Drawing, Limning, Painting, Blazonry, Armory.² For bodily exercise he recommends "coiting, throwing the hammer, sledge, and such like; running, jumping, leaping, and wrestling."

It will be observed that none of these writers mentions any *modern* foreign languages. The reason is that they were not considered as "learning" in those days, and that, if they were acquired, it was not so much by study as by practically conversing with foreign masters.

Lord Herbert of Cherbury (*Autobiography*, ed. Lee, p. 46) recommends the following course of studies for a gentleman's son:—

Before going to a University he ought to learn Greek and Latin and other languages. The first six months at the University should be devoted to a little logic, the following year to both the grounds of the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy, and to reading Severinus, Franciscus Patricius, and Telesius. After

¹ As Latin authors to be read at the University, he names Tully, Cæsar, Cornelius, Tacitus, Titus Livius, Quintus Curtius, and Sallust; besides, the young gentleman might read Greek as well.

² On this subject Peacham wrote a special book, *The Gentleman's Exercise*, 1634.

which the young student has to take up geography, arithmetic, and geometry "in some good measure" (p. 52). Besides, "it will become a gentleman to have some knowledge in medicine, especially the diagnostic part. . . . This art will get a gentleman not only much knowledge, but much credit. . . . It will become him also to know not only the ingredients, but doses, of certain cathartic or purging, emetic or vomitive medicines (etc.). . . . Besides, I would have a gentleman know how to make these medicines himself, and afterwards prepare them with his own hands." Moreover, Lord Herbert (p. 57) conceives it is a fine study, and worthy a "gentleman, to be a good botanist." And he (p. 59) "no less commends the study of anatomy." And last (p. 65), "it would be fit that some time be spent in learning rhetoric." Concurrently with these intellectual studies, the young gentleman is to learn riding the great horse,¹ fencing, dancing, and swimming (p. 68).

On previous pages Lord Herbert has given an account of his own education, which I have already quoted in part above. At twelve years old his parents "thought fit to send him to Oxford to University College," where he remembers "to have disputed at his first coming in logic, and to have made in Greek the exercises required in that college oftener than in Latin." P. 42: "During this time of living in the University or at home, he did, without any master or teacher, attain the knowledge of the French, Italian, and Spanish languages, by the help of some books in Latin or English translated in those idioms, and the

¹ As to this art, see Mr. Lee's foot-note.

dictionaries of those several languages. He attained also to sing any part at first sight in music, and to play on the lute with very little or almost no teaching."

Lord Herbert was a little vain, and proud of his learning and other accomplishments; and probably there were very few—possibly none—of his rank who knew as much as he did.

(J. Gailhard (1678) recommends not only Latin and Greek, but Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, and Arabic for the study of young gentlemen.

His great contemporary, Locke, does not go so far in his estimate of the dead languages (*Thoughts on Education*, § 195). "Latin and French," he says, "as the world now goes, is by every one acknowledged to be necessary;" but he is inclined to leave Greek altogether to professed scholars. Besides, he wants the young gentleman to acquire the knowledge of minerals, plants, and animals, arithmetic, geometry, geography, astronomy, chronology, anatomy, ethics, and civil and common law; but he does not seem to think much of the refining influences of the arts. As corporal accomplishments, he mentions dancing, fencing, wrestling, riding, and one or more manual trades.)

On page 17 of his *Fine Gentleman* (1732), Costeker gives a scheme of what he understands by a "regular, useful, and polite education." At six years of age the boy should be put "under the care of a proper master at home, in order to be well instructed in orthography. . . . Afterwards let him be transferred to some genteel Academy, where he might be well instructed in the grounds and principles of religion,

grammar, Latin, and French ; all which I will allow 7 years to compleat. . . . Then let him be removed to the University, and continue with a strict and careful tutor 4 years. In that time let his genius follow its proper inclination to pursue those studies he likes best, either Law, or, if he likes languages, Latin, Greek, French, and Italian ; or Divinity, or Moral Philosophy, or Natural Philosophy." Besides, he should acquire these accomplishments : Geometry, geography, chronology, history, music, dancing, fencing, riding, optics, architecture, and algebra. Travelling ought to complete the education.

It will be interesting and instructive to compare with the above schemes a list of the books which an anonymous University tutor recommends to the ordinary student, in a pamphlet entitled *Advice to a Young Student, with a method of Study for the 4 first years at the University* (London, 1730) :—

I. BOOKS TO BE READ IN THE FIRST YEAR.—

(a) *Philosophical* : Wells's Arithmetic, Euclid's Elements, Burgersdicius's Logick, Wells's Geography, Wells's Trigonometry, Newton's Trigonometry. (b) *Classical* : Terence, Xenophontis Cyri Institutio, Tully's Epistles, Phaedrus's Fables, Lucian's Select Dialogues, Theophrastus, Justin, Cornelius Nepos, Dionysius's Geography. (c) *Religious* : Sermons of Sharp, Calamy, etc.

II. SECOND YEAR.—(a) Wells's Astronomy, Locke's Human Understanding, De la Hire's Conic Sections, Whiston's Astronomy, Keil's Introduction, Cheyne's Philosophical Principles, Rohaulti Physica. (b) Causin de Eloquentia, Vossius's Rhetorick, Tully's Orations,

Isocrates, Demosthenes, Cæsar's Commentaries, Sallust, Hesiod, Theocritus, Ovid's Fasti, Vergil's Eclogues. (c) Tillotson's Sermons.

III. THIRD YEAR.—(a) Burnet's Theory, Whiston's Theory, with Keill's Remarks; Wells's Chronology, Beveridge's Chronology, Whitby's Ethicks, Pufendorf, Grotius. (b) Homer's Iliads, Virgil's Georgicks, Virgil's Aeneids, Sophocles, Horace, Euripides, Piers's Edit., Juvenal, Persius. (c) Other Sermons.

IV. FOURTH YEAR.—(a) Baronius's Metaphysics, Newton's Opticks, Whiston's Praelectiones, Physica Mathematica, Gregory's Astronomy. (b) Thucydides, Livy, Diogenes Laertius, Cicero's Philosophical Works. (c) Other Religious Books.

In reading the books from which extracts have just been quoted—leaving out Locke, who, indeed, sets little store by learning—we almost invariably find that the only, or at least the principal, aim of education is represented as consisting in the mere acquisition of a more or less extensive store of useful and useless knowledge. Thus occasionally even Chaldaic, Syriac, and Hebrew are thought fit to take a place in the course of a young gentleman's education.

Probably owing to a widely spread indifference to the learning of the schools, the majority of the writers indulge in unmeasured praise of what they are desirous to make acceptable to their reluctant readers. And this may explain, and in some measure excuse, the one-sided judgment which their books exhibit. But it seems that scholastic knowledge was never so much overrated as in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, at least by educational writers; nor do scholars ever

appear to have prided themselves so much on their book-learning. Locke is the first great writer who, emancipating himself from the scholastic traditions, distinctly and emphatically subordinates the possession of learning to nobler qualities, and makes the acquisition of knowledge subservient to the higher aim of developing the moral side of man (*Thoughts on Education*, § 147).

That the ordinary course of education, consisting, as it almost entirely did, in a dreary study of the dead languages, was commonly thought unsatisfactory, is evident from the great number of proposals for reform made in those times. It was also generally acknowledged that the received method was particularly unfit for the training of young gentlemen. It was Locke's opinion that a great part of the learning then in fashion in the schools was not "worth a gentleman's while," and that it might be omitted "without any great disparagement to himself or prejudice to his affairs." Under such circumstances, it does not seem very strange that so many of the gentry and nobility scorned the scholar and hated the schools, and that very few of them were great proficient in book-learning. What the general opinion of the education fit for a well-bred gentleman was, may be gathered from the description which Sir R. Southwell gives of the accomplishments of Lord Ossory, son of the first Duke of Ormonde (about 1650): "He rides the great horse very well, is a good tennis-player, fencer, and dancer. He understands music, and plays on the guitar and lute; speaks French elegantly, reads Italian fluently, is a good historian, and so well versed in

romances that if a gallery be full of pictures or hangings, he will tell the stories of all of them that are described.”¹

7. *Manners and Habits.*

Dr. Furnivall has given, in his *Babees' Book*, numerous and very interesting particulars concerning the manners, especially at table, of the upper classes at the close of the Middle Ages. In the old treatises on courtesy printed in his volume are very many precepts which, though they were probably useful and necessary when the books were written, seem extremely superfluous and ridiculous to our modern mind; it is, therefore, surprising to find so many of them in books written 200 or 300 years later.

In J. Gailhard's book, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1678 and 1684), we meet with the following odd directions intended for young noblemen and gentlemen² who are going to France:—P. 67: “Forks are a neat invention, therefore to be used to avoid greasing hands, with laying them upon the meat.” The young gentleman is requested “to make clean his spoon before he puts it in the dish, after he hath taken it out of his mouth. Sometimes,” the author says, “I have seen gluttons, and a rude sort of people, who, as soon as a dish is set down upon the table, snap all they can out of it, as if they were afraid to want and starve; . . . then leaning one or both

¹ Quoted by Mr. Sidney L. Lee in a foot-note on page 69 to his edition of Lord Herbert's *Autobiography*.

² The author says he had been tutor abroad to several of the nobility and gentry.

elbows upon the table, like pigs they hang their mouth over the plate, and, with both hands to the mouth, greedily devour that which so uncivilly they have taken. . . .” P. 84 : “When he is in company, he must forbear talking to himself, muttering between his lips, often spitting,¹ nodding with his head, pointing the finger, leaning on his elbow, crossing of his legs,” &c. P. 90 : At table the young gentleman “ought to avoid licking his fingers, knawing of bones,” &c.

I take a few more extracts from another book, which I have had the advantage of using by the kind permission of Sir George Douglas Clerk, Bart., in whose library at Penicuik House a copy is preserved. It bears the title, *The Rules of Civility, or the Maxims of Genteel Behaviour, newly done out of the 12th edition in French, London 1703*, and was written for men who moved in fashionable society, not for people in the country. The transiator has added several notes in cases where English customs differed from those described in the French original.

P. 95 : “You must not hang your head over your plate ; you must not drop upon your cravat, lick your fingers, your knife, or your spoon ; nothing is more unhandsome than to make clean your plate, or the bottom of the dish, with your finger : to drink out the remainder of the pottage, sawce, &c., out of the dish, or to pour it into your spoon. If your fingers, knife, or fork be greasy, you must never wipe them up[on] the cloth or bread, but always upon your napkin :² and

¹ This precept, with additions, is repeated on page 89.

² This was necessary, because the knives and forks were not changed.

to keep your fingers clean, it is the best way to eat nothing but with a fork. If any one at the table has lent you his knife, spoon, or fork, you must be sure to wipe it well upon your napkin, or else send it to the side-board to be wash'd." P. 99 : "'Tis not civil to pick your teeth at the table with your knife or fork, or rinse your mouth after you have din'd, if there be persons of quality in the room." P. 91 : "If we be to eat out of the [same] dish, we must have a care of putting in our spoons before our superiours, or of eating out of any other part of the dish than that which is directly before us." P. 92 : "Having served your self with your spoon, you must remember to wipe it, and indeed as oft as you use it ; for some [!] are so nice they will not eat pottage, or anything of that nature, in which you put your spoon unwip'd, after you have put it into your mouth. Some are so curious, they will not endure a spoon to be used in 2 several dishes ; and therefore in several places 'tis grown a mode to have spoons brought in with every dish to be used only for pottage and sawce."

Among the rules for behaviour while travelling, the author observes, on p. 116 : "If in your journey you be constrained to take up your quarters in the same chamber with the qualify'd person, you must give him leave to undress and to go to bed first ; and when he has done, you are to strip and go to bed after him, and to lie so as to give him no disturbance all night." P. 117 : "It is not tolerable to comb your head in the kitchen [of the inn], where your hairs may fly into the dishes, upon the meat."

There are many more curious and amusing parti-

culars in this little book, but I am afraid it would lead too far to quote more from it.

Nothing is more common in books on the education of young gentlemen than complaints of fashionable bad habits. The foremost is excessive drinking, which was for a very long time in England what it is still too much in Germany, the common amusement of all sorts of people. Brinsley (*Ludus Literarius*, 1612) calls it "the plague of the English gentry" (p. 223); he thinks it was introduced into England from the Netherlands about the time when Sir John Norrice was there. In 1634, Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, p. 9, writes: "To be drunke, sweare, wench, follow the fashion, and to do just nothing, are the attributes and markes now adayes of a great part of our gentry." Again, in 1661, Clement Ellis complains that usually a gentleman "drinks as stoutly as if he meant to carry liquor enough with him in his belly to quench the flames of hell" (*Gentile Sinner*, p. 44).

According to J. Gailhard, *The Complete Gentleman* (1678), part ii., p. 3, country gentlemen used to employ their time with "hawking, coursing, and hunting; with taking tobacco, and going to the alehouse and tavern, where matches were made for races, cock-fighting, and the like; and if a gentleman be not as forward as they are, then he is proud, he is an enemy to good fellowship, and is a man not fit for society; thence dicing¹

¹ Dice play is also mentioned in *The Institution of a Gentleman* (1555) as being "no honest pastyme: although it be a game much vsed amonge noble men and gentlemen, yet doth it vngentle them."

and carding will follow, which at last are attended with loss of estates and destruction of families. . . . Indeed to speak the best of such gentlemen, we use to say, he is an honest country gentleman ; that is, often apt to be fooled, who has neither much wit nor experience."

An anonymous "Gentleman of the Middle Temple," who, in 1729, wrote a book under the title *The Young Gentleman's New Year's Gift*, expresses himself even in stronger terms: "There is not a more worthless and despicable animal than a true country booby, who, calling himself a country gentleman, spends his life only in eating, drinking, and sleeping; and distinguishes himself in nothing from the brutes, but only that, whereas they keep within the bounds of nature, he prides himself in the excesses of it" (p. 35).

Similar complaints are uttered in numerous other books. One writer is even much distressed that "the custom and fashion of lying has grown epidemical" (*The Gentleman's Library*, by a Gentleman, 3rd ed., London, 1734, p. 204). One cannot, of course, believe everything or everybody. But Locke, too, complained that lying was "very much in fashion amongst all sorts of people." Fielding's novels, also, tell us a great deal about the bad manners and habits, especially of the country gentlemen; they abound in examples of half-educated, brutal squires, who bully their wives and daughters, and drink deep, and curse abominably.¹ In

¹ As for the then very common habit of swearing, compare also Defoe's *Essay on Projects*, ed. H. Morley, p. 144; and Clemen Ellis, *Gentile Sinner* (1661), p. 37.

many ways, in fact, as Macaulay has observed,¹ they did not materially differ from a rustic miller or ale-housekeeper of our time. If we bear these things in mind, we shall refrain from accusing Defoe of exaggeration, as otherwise many readers might be tempted to do.

At the end of my task I gratefully and sincerely acknowledge the valuable help kindly and freely granted to me by friends and others. I have already mentioned what share Mr. Francis B. Bickley has in the reproduction of the text; he has also very readily assisted me in looking out several things for the Notes when I was away from London. Dr. Furnivall, Mr. Sidney L. Lee, Mr. R. Hebert Quick, and Mr. T. Widgery have made me acquainted with several useful books; the first two also lent me some rare ones. I repeat my thanks to Miss C. L. Cooper and to Dr. Murray for their kind communications, which have assisted me in my remarks on the word "gentleman." Miss Cooper and my good friend Mr. W. Leo Thompson have taken the great trouble of reading the proofs of the text with me. Both, as well as Dr. Furnivall, have also looked over parts of my MS. of this Introduction in order to improve my English, and have helped me in correcting the proofs of it as well.

I conclude with quoting Mr. William Lee's opinion of Defoe's book; the MS. was then still in Mr. Crossley's possession;—"Mr. Crossley," he says, "would do great service to all lovers of pure English Literature if he

¹ *History of England*, vol. i. chap. iii.

could be persuaded to publish this valuable work of Defoe."

Now that his wish is fulfilled, I hope that readers will share his opinion.

KARL D. BÜLBRING.

VOERDE IN WESTPHALIA,

Nov. 19, 1889.

The Compleat
English Gentleman

Containing

Usefull Observacions on the General Neglect of
the Education of English Gentlemen with
the Reasons and Remedies

The Apparent Difference between a Well
Born and a Well Bred Gentleman

Instruccions how Gentlemen may Recover the
Defficiency of their Latin, and be Men of
Learning tho' without the Pedantry
of the Schools



INTRODUCCION.

THAT I may begin with the same brevity *folio 3.* that I purpose to go on with, I shall onely observe here by way of introduction that there are two sorts or classes of men who I am to be understood to speak of under the denomination of gentlemen :

1. The (born) Gentleman,
2. The (bred) Gentleman.

The complete gentleman I am to speak of will take them in both ; and neither of them, singly and abstractedly considered, will stand alone in the class of a compleat gentleman without some thing that may be said to comprehend both.

The born gentleman is a valuable man if bred up as a gentleman ought to be, that is, educated in learning and manners suitable to his birth. This I must insist on as a preliminary, that I may not be censur'd and condemn'd unread, and bring upon me a clamour from the numerous party of old women (whether male or female), idolators who worship escutcheons and trophies, and rate men and families by the *blazonry* of their

INTRODUCCION.

their houses, exclusiv of learning or virtue, and of all personall merit.

On the other hand, the son of a mean person furnish'd from Heaven with an originall fund of wealth, wit, fence, courage, virtue, and good humour, and set apart by a liberall education for the service of his country; that distinguishes himself by the greatest and best actions; is made acceptable and agreeable to all men by a life of glory and true fame; that hath the naturall beauties of his mind embellish'd and set off with a vast fund of learning and acquir'd knowleg; that has a clear head, a generous heart, a polite behaviour and, in a word, shews himself to be an accomplish'd gentleman in every requisite article, that of birth and blood excepted: I must be allowd to admit such a person into the rank of a gentleman, and to suggest that he being the first of his race may possibly raise a *roof tree* (as the antients call it) of a noble house and of a succession of gentlemen as effectually as if he had his pedigree to shew from the Conqueror's army or from a centurion in the legions that landed with Julius Cæsar.

Out of the race of either of these, the compleat gentleman I am to describe is to be deriv'd. How to reconcile the antient line to this and bring them, however degenerate, to embrace the modern line, tho' exalted by the brightest virtue and the most valuable accomplishments of a man of honour, is the difficult case before me.

I am resolv'd however to giv antiquity its due homage; I shall worship the image call'd antient lineage as much as possible without idolatry; I shall giv it all the reverence and respect that it can pretend to

to claim, search for all the glories of birth and blood, and place them in full proportion : no lustre of antient gentry shall be ecclypst by me, onely with this exception, that I must intreat the gentlemen who are to value themselves chiefly upon that advantage, that they will *stoop so low* as to admit that vertue, learning, a liberal educacion, and a degree of naturall and acquir'd knowledge, are necessary to finish the born gentleman ; and that without them the entitul'd heir will be but the shaddow of a gentleman, the opaac, dark body of a planet, which can not shine for want of the sun communicating its beams, and for want of being plac'd in a due position to reciev and reflect those beams when they are communicated and reciev'd.

In condicioning for so small an advance in the favour of true merit, and insisting upon its being, as I said, absolutely necessary, I think we differ upon so small a point, that I can not doubt of reconciling it all in the end of this discourse and bringing the blood and the merit together ; so we shall soon produce the best and most glorious peice of God's creation, a complete gentleman ; which is the deserv'd subject of the whole work.

I shall begin with the born gentleman. I shall do him all the honour due to his distinguisht quallity and birth ; I shall giv him the preference upon all occasions ; I shall allow him to be superior because he is prior or seignior in blood, expecting nothing of him in return but this trifle onely, that he be *but equall* in merit, not tying him down, no, not to that claim of his quallity that he should *excell* his inferiors in virtue as he does in degree.

In

In all this I think I am extremely civil to him, and use him like a gentleman. I must indeed, for his service, shew him the mistakes which were committed among his ancestors, especially the *Lady-mothers* and the *Lady-aunts*, the introducers of his junior behaviour; those directresses in his most early yeares who for want of erudition have exposed him to ignorance and weakness of understanding and left his head unfurnish'd and his mind unfinish'd, left him loaden with wealth, but unsupply'd with the means of making use of it: unguided and unable to guide himself, and untaught and, what is worse, in most things unteachable. I say, I must be allow'd to shew him some of these mistakes; but this, as I shall make appear at large, is not onely necessary in the case before me, but is very much for his service also. Yet in doing this I shall use him tenderly, treat him personally with all possible deference and respect, and humbly addressing him for his own benefit to retrieve the loss, lead him by the hand into the way to do it; shewing him how to place himself in the rank which God and Nature design'd him for, and at last deliver him up to himself and into his own possession in the full perfeccion of a gentleman.

If in doing this it naturally occurs that his ancestors, whether fathers or mothers, or both, or indeed any kinds or degrees of his relations into whose hands he fell and who had the charge of his erudition, were exceedingly in the wrong, and that their ill conduct should be a little expos'd in this work, the necessity of it will appear so evedently that I should be inexcusable if it were omitted, not so much for the sake of what is

past

past as of what to come; not so much to reproach them (perhaps in their graves), for that I do not call necessary, but to prevent the example spreading in those families into a further practice; and so 'tis for the sake of those yet in the cradle or perhaps not born. I kno' this misfortune of our gentlemen is plac'd to the account of the sex; that indulgent mothers are charg'd with violently opposing the committing their sons to the conduct of the schooles, subjecting them to discipline and putting them, as 'tis call'd, under the government of their inferiours; insisting that 'tis below their quality to have *their sons*, for they speak it with an emphasis and with contempt, corrected by a forry fellow of a pedagogue and plac'd under the domineer-*f. 4 b.* ing law of a little school tyrant. "Shall *my son* be sent to school to sit *bare headed* and say a lesson to such a forry, diminutiv rascal as that, be brow beaten and hector'd and threatn'd with his authority and stand in fear of his hand! *my son*! that a few yeares after he will be glad to cringe to, cap in hand, for a dinner! no, indeed, *my son* shall not go near him. Let the Latin and Greek go to the D—l. *My son* is a *Gentleman*, he sha'n't be under such a scoundrel as that."

Now it is true that this is one part of the charge and that ladyes are certainly to blame, because, tho' in this or that place a forry inferiour fellow, as they call 'em, may be a schoolmaster, yet a schoolmaster is not an inferior by his office, and in many places we find the most venerable, grave, learned and valuable persons have been plac'd at the head of a Grammer School, in whose hands the children of persons of the best rank have been entrusted with success and who very well kno'

kno' how to govern themselves in the government even of their superiors, as is the case in the great schooles of Eaton, Winchester, Westminster, Felsted, Bishop Stortford, Canterbury, and others, where the children, nay the eldest sons of some of the best families in England, have been educated, and that with great success ; and yet with all decent regard to the dignity of their birth and to the great satisfaction¹ of the young gentlemen themselves ; and I need say no more in the case than to observe the apparent difference in the future conduct and just character for their accomplishment, as gentlemen and as noblemen, between the persons so educated and those who by the force of the female authority, as above, have been thus unhappily robb'd of their education.

The difference, I say, of these is evident, *the first* have been the glory of their country, the ornament of the court, the supports both of prince and people ; while *the latter* have been the meer outsidings of gentlemen, useless in their generation, retreated from the State, because incapable to serve it ; born for themselves, given up to their pleasures, as if they came into the world for no other end but to continue the race and hand on the name to posterity. Their youth is worn out wallowing in sensuality, sloth, and indolence, till wearied with a life of levity, gayety, and wanton excesses they dye, *as it were*, onely to make room for the untaught heir to live the horrid scene over again : and thus ignorance and fullness of bread is the utmost of the family enjoyments, and they dye thoughtless.

But

¹ Abbreviated in MS.

But I can not joyn with those who thus load the ladies with all the weight of this complaint; for were it so, (1) the gentlemen would be inexcusable in suffering it, and I can never believe, if the fathers were not consenting at least and passively yielding to it, the fatal jest could ever be carried on to such a length: they might indeed consent to the mother's importunity, or, if you will, to her assuming and authority, in not sending *her son* to this or that particular schoolmaster upon the points suggested above, (viz.) his being a mean fellow. But the father could never consent without inexcusable ignorance and folly to the total omission of his son's learning in general, and to the breeding him up perfectly illiterate, merely because his quality was to exempt him from the discipline of a school and from the being subject to an inferior schoolmaster. On the contrary, the father, supposing him¹ to have any sense of the advantages of erudition and the loss it would be to his son not to be taught, would take care to have him plac'd out to such schools as are proper for persons of quality to be taught in, and where he would see the sons of gentlemen, equal at least and perhaps superior to himself in dignity, brought up and instructed in the same manner.

2. It must therefore be that, however preposterous such a thing may seem in the sense of men of better judgement, and however scandalous to their own characters such an unaccountable indolence and neglect of their families really is, that yet the fathers are certainly guilty of it, as well as the mothers; that they come into the practice, whether they come into the
weake

¹ *him* omitted in MS.

INTRODUCCION.

weake womanish reason of it or no ; that they look upon learning as a thing of indifference and of no great use to a gentleman ; that leaving his son a great estate is enough and makes a full amends for all the pretended defficiencies of the head ; that making them schollars does but plunge them into politicks, embark them in parties, and endanger their being some time overthrown and ruin'd ; that the ignorant man is the safe man, and he that is not concern'd in the broils of the State is sure not to be shipwreck'd among the ill pilotes and the rash disturbers of the public peace. These weak, but willfull reasonings on the father's side joyn'd to the fiery pride of the mother keep¹ the heir at play with his nurfes and pages, till he is too big to go to school at all, and till getting a taste of pleasure and a disgust at all restraint he grows past government ; and 'tis no wonder that a tutor can do nothing with him but what he pleases.

¹ MS. *keeps*.



THE Compleat Gentleman.

CHAP. I.

*Of the Born Gentleman,¹ in the Common, or Modern, or Printed
Present² Acceptation of the Word, and as the Gentry ^{sheet,}
among us are pleas'd to understand it. page 1.*

BEFORE I enter too far into this nice Subject, 'tis necessary, for keeping all clear about me, that I should explain my Terms ; that I may have no Dispute about Words, no Mists and Fogs to disperse as I go on, and may make as few Parentheses as possible to interrupt the reading.

I matter³ not your long Etymologies and Derivations, nor all the tedious Harangues, whether of the Ancients or the Moderns, upon the Word *Gentleman*; its Interpretation from its jingling with the Word *Generous*; whether the *Patricii* of *Rome* and the
Generosi

¹ Corrected to *Gentleman born* in a handwriting different from Defoe's.

² *or Modern, or Present* is struck out, and marked for deletion, by the corrector.

³ Corrected to *value*, but not by Defoe.

Generosi of the modern *Italians* were not Synonymous, or which of the two are the most significant.

p. 2. It may serve in the schools for a good *Thesis*, and long learned Differtations may be made upon it, that the Word *Gentleman* being instituted and legitimated in our Language, as signifying a Man of generous Principles, of a great generous Soul, intimates a kind of an Obligation upon those who assum'd the Name to distinguish themselves from the rest of the World by generous and virtuous Actions. Those Inferences, however far-fetch'd, preach well, and may have some Place in the *Rostrum* of the Pedagogues, where the good, well-meaning Instructor does his best to teach Good-manners to his Scholars, as well as Letters, and to prepare their Minds for higher Reasonings. But when the Consequences appear to be drawn from weak if not wrong Premises, that Instruction will lose its Energy, and the Instructor must look out for a better Foundation.

But I must place the Object in a differing Perspective, we must see it in quite another Light: be it a better or a worse Explanation, we must understand it as it is at present understood, and taking People in their own Way, talk to them of it just as they talk of it to us; and so, *as the Backsword Men say*, beat them out of their Play: and it must be done too with *their own Weapons*. In a word, we must shew them their Mistakes, and the Folly of those Mistakes, by the same Light which they saw them in before, and while they understood them to be no Mistakes.

To take any other Course would be washing *Æthiopians*, and meer beating the Air; we are all *Spaniards*, or rather *Russians*, in such things as these; we scorn to alter *old Opinions*, or *old Usages*, even when we can't defend them; nay, we don't care to do it, tho' we know we are in the wrong.

¶ I don't wonder at the old *Pharisees* among the
Hebrews

Hebrews, who set up *the Traditions of the Elders*, even ^{p. 3.} above the *written Law of Moses*, or at the *Papists* who rank their oral Fragments of religious Institutions above the *written Gospel*: I say, I don't wonder at them at all, when I see our selves so wedded to Error, and so positive in Mistake, that even Demonstration will not remove us.

Our modern Acceptation of a *Gentleman* then, and that in spite of defeated Reasoning, is this, A person BORN (for there lies the Essence of Quality) of some known, or Ancient Family; whose Ancestors have at least for some time been rais'd above the Class of Mechanicks. If we will examine for how long it must be, that is a dangerous Inquiry, we dive too deep, and may indeed strike at the Root of both the Gentry and Nobility; for all must begin somewhere, and would be traced to some less Degree in their Original than will suit with the Vanity of the Day: It is enough therefore that we can derive for a Line of two or three Generations, or perhaps less; so that in short, the main Support of the thing, which is Antiquity, and the Blood of an Ancient Race, is a tender Point, and is not without its Defects; but, like a Rope of Sand, if it be stretch'd out too far it separates and falls back into the Mass or Heap of the meanest Individuals.

Nor indeed is it possible to avoid this Defect, and therefore I wonder our modern Pretenders to the Title of Gentility should lay so much Strefs upon what they call a long Descent of Blood. I would give it all its due Honour, but don't let us strain it too hard, or run too far into the Search, because we know it must dwindle into Diminutives at last: all Great things begin in Small, the highest Families begun low, and therefore to examine it too nicely, is to overthrow it all.

It is a strange Folly in the best of Mankind to Cap Pedigrees; since as the tallest Tree has its Root in the ^{p. 4.} Dirt; and the Florists tell us the most beautiful Flowers

Flowers are raised out of the grossest Mixture of the Dunghill and the Jakes ; so the greatest Family has its Beginning in the Throng, and the Search brings it to nothing.

Is it not enough that our Fathers were Gentlemen as far back as we can have any good Account of them ? Since they that look farthest back must lose their Fathers in the Search, or they will lose themselves as to the thing they search for ; they must stop *some where*, or they will find themselves *no where* ; they must run at last into a Beginning that will baulk the Enquiry, and bring them all to nothing, that is to the *Cannaille* and to the *mob*.

(I remember a Contest of this Kind between a certain modern Nobleman and the late Earl of *Oxford* of the ancient illustrious Family of *De Vere*. The Earl of *Oxford* valued himself upon the Glory of his Ancestors, their Fame, their great Actions, their Victories in foreign Service, *and the like* ; as for his personal Glory, the Stream ran something low, and as for his Family it was apparently extinguishing with himself.)

The modern Lord was a Man of Spirit, had serv'd Voluntier under the Fountain of Glory *Gustavus Adolphus*, and behav'd so in the Presence of that true Heroe, as to have his publick Testimony of his Bravery ; but the other told him he was of no Family, he had no Blood : The modern Lord deny'd the Fact, told him he was of as noble Race as he ; came of as good a Family as his Lordship, and challeng'd to Cap Pedigrees ; and so they began.

I am *Aubrey de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, says the Earl ; my Father was *Aubrey de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford* ; my Grandfather was Earl of *Oxford*, my Great-grandfather was *Francis de Vere*, Lieutenant-General to Queen *Elizabeth* ; his Father *Horatio de Vere*, Colonel of Horse, and so back to a long Race ; 'till the other
seeing

seeing him at a stand, bid him hold, for it was enough ; and he must have stopp'd a little farther, whether he would or not.

(Then the modern Lord began thus, I am *William Lord* ——— my Father was *Lord Mayor of London* and my Grandfather was the *Lord knows who*, and so I am of as Good a Race as any of you.) Where it is observable that in all Enquiries of this kind, after we come a few Ages back and pass a Heroe or two, the farther we go beyond that, the lower we go ; like distant Prospects of the greatest Object, the farther you go from them the less they seem, 'till at last dissolving themselves in Mist and Cloud, Perspective fails, and they entirely go out of sight and disappear ; so the greatest Heroes in the World, and of the most ancient Families, if we carry their Names back beyond their proper Distance, they disappear, and are no more to be found.)

(It is enough then, I say, and a Gentleman ought to be satisfy'd with it, if we can trace our Line back as far as our Ancestors are to be remember'd for great and good Actions ; lest going on to strain the Line too far, we sink it again below what we would have it be : It is sufficient to derive from Virtue and Honour, let it stand near or remote is not the Question ; nor can that Part add to the Lustre, because there is no Standard of Antiquity settled to rate a Gentleman by.)

Nor is it yet determin'd, no not in the Jargon of the Heralds, How many Descents make the Son of a Cobbler commence *Gentleman*, or give¹ an Escutcheon of Arms and the *red Hand*, nay the Coronet it self, to a *Plebeian*.

Not therefore to search too far where the thing will not bear the Inquisition, I shall take it as the World takes it, that the Word *Gentleman* implies a Man of Family, born of such Blood as we call Gentlemen, *p. 6.*
such

¹ gives in printed sheet.

fuch Ancestors as liv'd on their Estates, and as must be suppos'd had Estates to live on, whether the present Successor be poor or rich.

Now tho' this Birth, *after all*, is but mean in it self abstracted from other Merit, yet this I must also grant, that a Dignity thus rais'd at first flows in the Blood, that it is handed on from Family to Family, and from Age to Age, by the meer Consequence of Generation : Nay, I will grant an invisible Influence of the Blood, if they please, as if there were some differing Species in the very Fluids of Nature ; that the Spirits of a finer Extraction flow'd in the Vessels, or some *Animalculæ* of a differing and more vigorous kind which existed in the Blood, fir'd the Creature with a superiour Heat differing from those which mov'd in the Vessels of a meaner and lower Kind of Creature ; as the Waters of some Fountains and Rivers whose Course lies thro' rich and fruitful meadows or fertile Plains, or which flow down from Mineral Springs or golden Mountains, have in their Streams more secret Virtues, more healing and fructifying Qualities, more golden Sands than other Currents equally large which flow from unhealthy Bogs, moorish and fenny Grounds, or barren and sandy or rocky Defarts, whose Waters are thick and muddy, which impoverish the Lands they flow over, and whose stagnate Waters rather poison and kill than nourish and heal the Lands or Creatures that drink them.

This is granting as much as can be demanded, and, perhaps, more than is demanded, and is the exact Figure which they would form in our Minds concerning the Original and Constitution of a *Gentleman* ; as if he were a different Species from the rest of Mankind, that Nature had cast in another Mould, and either that he
 p. 7. was not created at the same time, or not made of the same Materials as the rest of the Species of Men.

This exalted Creature of our own forming we are
 now

now to fet up upon the Stage of Honour, rate him above the ordinary Price, and ranking him in a higher Claſs than his Neighbours, call him a *Gentleman*. And now having made an Idol of our own, like *Nebuchadnezzar*, we would have all the meaner World fall down and worſhip him.

I allow indeed (I might ſay I am forc'd to allow) that there are and may be accidental Degeneracies by corrupt Mixtures of Blood, that the original Stream is ſometimes diſhonoured and injured by promiſcuous Coalitions, and Marriages with Perſons of Plebeian Race ; yet it is inſinuated that there are ſome Globules in the Blood, ſome ſublime Particles in the Animal Secretion, which will not mix with the hated Stream of a mechanick Race, but preſerve themſelves pure and entire, and in time expels the degenerate Mixture, and reſtores its original Purity ; and the Learned often expreſs themſelves in ſuch caſes thus, *viz.* Such a one has good Blood in his Veins, tho' his Father indeed did marry below himſelf, and his Mother was a Shop-keeper's Daughter or a Citizen's Daughter of no Family ; yet he is of a good Family originally, and he has now married a Lady of an ancient Family in the North ; ſo that the Quality of his Race will be kept up, and the Blood is reſtor'd.

This is the Language of the Times, which I muſt comply with, and muſt conſent to aſſiſt in the carrying it on, even to ſuch ridiculous height, that as ſome Sectaries have been juſtly reproach'd with ſeparating from the World, and reſuſing to marry with Unbelievers, and as the *Phariſees* of old ſaid to the *Publicans*, *Stand off for I am holier than Thou* : So I muſt join, for the preſent purpoſe, with theſe People that value themſelves on their unmix'd Blood, and call them Gentle-
men, tho' they want a Pair of Shoes, and the Ladies who ſcorn to marry a Tradeſman however rich, wiſe,

learned, well-educated or religious, tho' at the same time they have little or nothing to support the Character of their Birth, and perhaps, not Means to subsist.

Unhappy Humour! truly ridiculous, and indeed preposterous! and yet in this manner I must proceed in meer Conformity to the Custom of the Times, at least 'till I come to the just Distinctions which I shall afterwards make, and by which, if possible, we may undeceive the World, divorce their Minds from an espoused Error, and set the real Gentlemen in a true Light, that we may no longer make a Harlequin of the Man we should admire: But setting up a new Class truly qualify'd to inherit the Title, turn the ancient Race into the Woods a grazing with *Nebuchadnezzar*, notwithstanding all the Trappings of their Antiquity, high Birth, great Ancestors, and boasted Family Fame, 'till they learn to know themselves, 'till their Understandings return, and 'till they can be brought to confess that when Learning, Education, Virtue and good Manners are wanting, or degenerated and corrupted in a Gentleman, he sinks out of the Rank, ceases to be any more a Gentleman, and is, *ipso facto*, turn'd back among the less despicable Throng of the *Plæbeii*. That when it is thus, the Species alters, the Manners make the Man, that the Gentility dies in them, and like a fine Flower ill transplanted the Kind is lost; that they lose all Pretence of right to the Quality they bore, forfeiting their Claim of Blood they¹ really ought to rank no otherwise than according to Merit.

The first thing which seems necessary in this Work,
and

¹ This is the beginning of folio 8 of the MS. After *the less despicable Throng of the Plæbeii* is a mark for an interpolation, which is lost with the preceding leaf, the next words being *really ought to rank*, &c. After *as the great Fountain of Order has set them*, another insertion is lost, which extended as far as the paragraph *Venice and Poland*, &c., on page 11 of the printed sheet.

and which may be of use to set this Affair in a Clear Light, is to examine our modern Notions about Nobility of Blood; upon what Principles they are raised, and to what Absurdities they are carry'd by some People, setting every thing in its due Order, as the great Fountain of Order has set them: See who is in the Right and who in the Wrong, that so we may place the Gentleman where he should be placed, and then we may honour him as he should be honour'd: For the Design of this Work is not at all to level Mankind, to blend the Low and the High together, and so make a meer Mob of the People.

'Tis evident God Almighty in peopling the Earth acted with the same Wisdom, and with the same excellent Order, as he did in peopling the Sky, nay even the Heavens themselves. In the Firmament he placed glorious Lights; glorious indeed they are in all their Degree, but of different Magnitude. It is true that even those which appear as if they were of less Magnitude far than others, may be so to us only as their Station is nearer or more remote. But it is the same thing to us still, that near or remote Situation is appointed to form the Difference of their appearing Lustre.

Here we see a *Sun*, an immense and amazing Globe of Fire shining in its full Strength, warming us with his illustrious Beams, enlivening and enervating the World with its Genial Heat, giving new Seasons in their Order, and putting a new Face upon Nature, and clothing her with Beauty and a renewed Youth at his Vernal Returns.

There the humble Moon and her Sisters the Planets with their *Satellites*, the *Plebeii* of the Skies, dark and opaque in themselves, shine by Reflection only, and borrowing Beams from the *Patrician* Sun, give Light without Heat, pale and languid, and seem to be in a
wonderful

wonderful Round of Negative Glory what they really are not.

p. 10. (Tho' Wand'ring, fix'd ; tho' retrograde, yet true ;
 Tho' Chang'd, the same ; and tho' the same, yet new ;
 Tho' distant, near ; immensely high, yet low ;
 Swift, yet not rapid ; tedious, yet not slow ;
 Tho' dark, yet clear ; tho' all opaque, yet bright ;
 Fair¹ without Beams, and without Lustre bright.

Thus Heaven, I say, acts with the same Wisdom in placing his Creatures in differing Ranks and Classes in every Part of the Creation ; nay even in the Cœlestial Creation it self we are told there are different Classes even among the Heavenly Inhabitants themselves, such as we call *Angels* and *Archangels*, and such as sacred Text distinguishes by *Thrones*, *Dominions*, *Principalities*, and *Powers* : Nay, and if we may believe the sublime Mr. *Milton*, who talk'd of those Places as if he had been born there, there were abundance more Classes than we have Names for.

In the very same Method God proceeded when he established a Nation under his own Government here on Earth, and whom he govern'd in an immediate *Theocrasie* : Do we not read of the Princes of *Israel*, Heads of the House of their Fathers, *Honourable Men*, and Men of *Renown*, &c ?

All this is in favour of the *Gentry* and *Nobility* of the World, and to let you see I am far from levelling the Clown and the Gentleman, the Great with the Mean and Base. No ; not the Rich with the Poor, which, by the way, *may at the Bottom be the Essence of that Distinction*, as we shall see in its Place.

All this, I say, will let you see that I am far from intending to lessen or dishonour the Gentleman I am speaking of : I allow him to be the Glory of the
 Creation,

¹ The print has *Shines*, which the corrector has altered to *Fair*.

Creation, the exalted Head of the whole Race, that demands Honour and Distinction from the rest of the p. 11. World. I have the Honour to be rank'd, by the Direction of Providence, in the same class, and would be so far from lessening the Dignity Heaven has given us, that I would add Lustre, if that was possible, to the constellated Body, and make them still more illustrious than they are.)

But this is to be done, not by dressing them up like Actors upon a Stage, adorning worthless and degenerate Heads with Laurels and Bays, that they may act the Conquerors who never drew a Sword ; and the Poets who never measur'd Quantity, transforming Faces, transposing Figures, and making the Actres appear to-day a *Goddes*, to-morrow a *Queen*, and the third Day a *Waiting-woman*, and the like, as the Part she is to act requires.

(The Gentleman is to be represented as he really is, and in a figure which he cannot be a Gentleman without ; I mean as a Person of Merit and Worth ; a Man of Honour, Virtue, Sense, Integrity, Honesty, and Religion, without which he is Nothing at all, as we shall see in its place.) But of that by it self.

*Venice*¹ and *Poland* are two particular countryes, *MS.*
fol. 8. where the notions² of nobility in blood are³ at this time carryed to the highest and most ridiculous extreme. The *Venetians* are without dispute an antient people, they call themselves the unconquer'd remains of the antient *Romans* ; and I am not for disputing it with them at all, any more than I will with our *Welch* gentlemen whether they are the unconquer'd remains of the antient *Britains* ; if they are not the degenerated⁴ race of them 'tis well enough.

I

¹ As the rest of the text of the printed sheet corresponds with that of the MS., the latter will be followed in future.

² *notion* in MS. and print. ³ *is* in print. ⁴ *degenerate* in print.

I will not doubt but that, according to antient history¹ when the *Goths* and *Vandals* and other barbrous² nacions over-run *Italy*, when the *Exarchs* who took refuge at *Ravenna*, and set up their petty governments there, were no more, and all face of government began to wear out in *Italy*, I mean as it was *Roman*, when the Kingdom of *Lombardy* diffolved itself, and all the other kingdoms of that part of the world made up the great Empire of *Charlemain*, or *Carolous*³ *Magnus*, and of the *Franks*, from whom to this day all the *European* nacions are among the *Greeks* call'd *Franks*; I will not, I say, doubt but that the *Veneti* or the *Paduans*, for they were the head of them, and other inhabitants of the sea-coast, and of the country upon the banks of the *Po*, retiring to the inaccessible islands and the low grounds at the mouth of that great river, the same which is now call'd the *Dogade*, or the mere dominion of the Duke and Senate of *Venice*, defended themselves against all the forces of the *barbarians*, and erected a new nacion made up of many nacions. That all the families disper'd among the provinces of *Italy*, who abhorr'd the bondage of the *barbarians*, finding those *Veneti* enjoy'd there both liberty and peace, principally by the help of their situation, and particularly by their naval strength, which they by meer necessity erected, fled to them, and dwelling among them, became soon after manumiz'd and made freemen and incorporated into the same common body.

As they form'd their first constitution into a Commonwealth, the same as it remains at this day, and⁴ dressing up their government in the same form and exactly after the modelle of the Commonwealth of *Rome*, so they

¹ Instead of *antient history* the print has a long stroke.

² *barbarous* in print.

³ *Carolus* in print.

⁴ *and* not in print.

they had their *Senatus Populusque* on one hand, and the *Tribunes* of the people on the other; they were divided into the *Senate* and the *people*, or as it follow'd the *Nobility* and the *Commons*, exactly the same as the *Patricii* and the *Plæbeij* of *Rome*; and as the *Romans* upon all emergencies of the State, extraordinary dangers from enemies, and the like, chose a *Dictator* and afterwards the *Cæsars* assum'd the title of perpetual dictators, and then that of *Imperator*; so the *Venetians* appointed a *Doge* or *Duke* in the nature of a *Dictator*, or of a temporary *Imperator*, onely that this is more limited and restrain'd by much, as he is rather the servant than the governor of the Commonwealth.

Now what follow'd among the *Venetians*? Pride stepping in, as it usually does, where the degeneracy of nature opens a door, assisted to put an immoderate rate upon this class of nobility, tho' without the first virtue which raised them; the Senators meriting at first greatly from the people who came to dwell among them, as is said, for the protection they gave them against the barbarians, were in return greatly honour'd as they indeed deserv'd; their names were reverenc'd and the merit descending in those first ages to their posterity, the honour entail'd it self of course.

The prudent and well-managing of the government was the testimonial of their reall deservings; and in the next age all those families, on whose wisdom, valour and fidelity to their country the greatness of the Commonwealth began so soon to flourish, were first made Counsellors and Directors of the State, and then ennobled; I say *made*, because 'tis evident the *Tribunes* made them Councillors, and established them in the Government, and the *Tribunes* consequently gave them nobility; to which was added that the *Doge* or *Duke* should be allways chosen out of that body, with power
in

in the said Doge and nobility to confer nobility to
f. 9. other families, as merit and reasons of State should
 make reasonable ; and had they stopped there they had
 done well.

Here began nobility in Venice, and a just beginning
 it was ; nobility, as it ought to be, was made an
 appendix to, or attendant on, virtue: True merit,
 fidelity to, and services done for, their country, exalted
 the first patriots of the State, and establish'd them-
 selves as the rule for those noble persons to act by in
 taking subsequent patriots into that illustrious body,
 giving nobility afterwards as the reward of virtue, and
 thereby firing the minds of the growing and aspiring
 generations with resolutions to purchase nobility at
 the same rate, (*viz.*) by noble and generous actions, by
 a generall course of glorious merit, so to rise to honour
 on the wings of virtue, which indeed is the onely
 justifiable gradacion.

All this was right, and thus to make a nobleman or
 a gentleman, would certainly add lustre to the name,
 and men might justly value themselves upon the
 honours¹ so acquir'd and so conferr'd.

But two things are to be brought in abatement of
 the plea. Not against the honour for I am staunch to
 the principle I layd down ; the honour I allow to be
 valuable, but then the merit too must remain. But if
 the vertue descends not with the titles, the man is but
 the shadow of a gentleman, without the substance.
 If vertue gave being² to his degree, where the cause
 dyes the effect ceases ; the degenerate³ offspring of
 the noble, virtuous, gallant spirit sinks the nobleman,
 because the nobleman sinks the hero ; the honour must
 go with the merit : If he has not the virtue which is
 the merit, how can he be call'd noble ? What remains
 to the miserable skeleton of a nobleman ? The walking
 shadow

¹ *honour* in print.

² MS. *bing*.

³ MS. *dengerate*.

shadow of a duke who once was noble, but of whom it may be said, the man remains, but the D . . . is dead, as a renegado is no more a christian.

2. The advancing men to honours without the merit, is abusing the honour and the man too. It is indeed a peice of mockery, and is a scandal of the nobillity and gentry; 'tis dressing little *David* in *Saul's* armour—the one a stripling, and the other the tallest man in *Israel*: Poor *David* could not walk, much less fight, in that drefs. Well did King *Charles II.* say, *he could make a knight, but could not make a gentleman.* The king understood what went to that qualification, and that a title no more made a gentleman than the lyon's skyn would make the afs a lyon; The gentleman must have the merit, or he is not at all advanc'd by his title; the *Sir* no more makes a gentleman, than the scarf makes a doctor: To exalt a fool is onely making a jest for the town; in a word, to knight a booby is an assault upon nature, and is a satyr upon the clown himself; see what *Andrew Marvell* sayes upon something of this kind.

*To see a white staff make a beggar a lord,
And scarce a wife man at a long Councel Board.*

When I mention the advancing men to titles without merit, I may be supposed to touch upon the modern custome of selling nobility in *Venice* for 100,000 ducates; and, if indeed the man so advanc'd had nothing to entitle him to the honour but the money, the satyr would be just: But I am told the Venetians go upon three stipulations when they make those advances.

1. They never take that method to raise money by encreasing the families of the nobility except in times of heavy war, when the State is press'd, and when 'tis necessary to raise a considerable sum for the exigencies of State.

2. When

2. When they have voted for taking in a certain number of persons into the nobility, it is referr'd to the Council to single out such families, and such persons, as have deserv'd well of the Common Wealth.

3. The advancing the money on these occasions is really doing a service to the public, and may be allow'd to have some merit in itself.

But now we come to the main clause wherein this article of nobility in *Venice* is brought under our satyr. The antient nobility value themselves so much above
 f. 10. the created nobility, that there seems to be an implacable animosity between them, and they will scarce salute one another or at least would not for a time.

Now this comes exactly within the censure which I am passing with so much justice upon the times. If the antient nobility had either any superiour personal merit of their own, upon the foot of which they could justly rate themselves above the other, or if the modern nobility lay under any scandal, upon the foot of which they could be reproacht as unquallify'd for Nobility, that they had no merit but their money, or were really personally unworthy being enobled; this would in either case justify the contempt with which they treat them.

But suppose now that the noble *Venetian* of the antient creation, suppose one of the *Contarini*, the *Bragadini*, the *Boccalini*, the *Cornari*, or the *Mocenigi*; suppose him a bully, a rake, a B or a W or an E , a man usefess to the Common Wealth, degenerate, vitious, unworthy of the honour and titles which he bears, and which he inherits, but knows not how to deserve: suppose him dishonouring his glorious ancestors by his deficiency of that virtue, courage, learning, and fidellity to his country, which justly rais'd his ancestors to the dignity of counsellors,
 and

and rankt them among the nobillity: Shall the nobillity of blood remain, with this weight upon its fame? NO! 'tis¹ inconsistent with the nature of the thing; the blood of a gentleman poison'd and tainted with crime is lost, and ought to be no more valued as a generous stream.²

Suppose, on the contrary, a nobleman of the modern creation, and allow him to be a person of merit, of wisdom, of prudence, of learning, able for council, for embassys, for confidence; a man of conduct in the field, brave, enterprising, experienc't, and faithfull, and worthily honour'd, and enobl'd on all these accounts; besides the advancing so much money, as is said above, for the public service in a time of exigence.

Now the case is this: the first of these, notwithstanding³ all those extremes of contraries, shall condemn the last for the meer antiquity of their creation; how absurd is the pride of this, and how contrary to the nature of the thing! The first has nothing to value himself upon but the remote vertues of his forgotten ancestors, which weigh no more in the scale of his personall merit, than the escutcheon of his arms painted upon silk would weigh against the other man's 100,000 duckets.

In a word, the last has the merit, the first the antiquity; pray which has the best claim to the honour? The first has family without vertue, the last has the virtue to build the family: the first ought to be the last nobleman of his house, as the last is the first nobleman of his. Yet thus it is *at Venice*: the antient nobillity look upon the modern nobillity with the utmost contempt, so as they will hardly keep them
company

¹ *it is* in print.

² The passage from *Shall the nobillity to generous stream* is scratched out in the MS., but it stands in the print, which ends here.

³ Abbreviated in MS.

company, or give them the civilityes of their rank, if they meet them in the street. Let us bring the case nearer home.

With what contempt do we degrade a Knight of the Garter who has once dishonour'd his dignity by crime. The trophies of his honour, the ensigns of the Order, are thrown down. His coat of arms, however illustrious, and even glorious, from the nobility of his descent, are taken from over the stall, are transferr'd, torn in peices, thrown on the ground, and kick'd out at the door of the chappel of the Order. His name is declar'd infamous and detestable, and his memory unworthy of being preserv'd in the roll among the Knights Companions.

If this is the treatment which a man once so exalted, so great, so honourable, shall receive in the particular case of treason and rebellion against the Sovereign, why shall not a gentleman forfeit his rank and be suppos'd degenerate when he dishonours his blood by other equal, or even less, degrees of crime, such for example as a generall contempt of all morall virtue, a total degeneracy of manners, and in a word an avowed practise of all degrees of scandal and crime?

It is a little hard, and we must think ourselves imposed upon by custome and other errors of the age, that a man shall stand attainted in blood, and his posterity after him, for crimes against the Government he lives in, and shall yet preserv his blood entire, and the streams of it be esteem'd pure and uncorrupted, when he gives up all obedience either to God or good manners. Such a conduct degrades the gentleman *ipso facto* and shows him in the form of a vile and degenerate wretch. And why should he not be taken as Nature shows him? why should he not be accepted for what he is, and not for what he is not?

In

In *Poland* this vanity of birth is still worse; 'tis there carry'd up to such a monstrous extravagance, that the name of gentleman and the title of a *Starost*, a *Palatine*, or a *Castellan*, gives the man a superiority over all the vassals or common people, infinitely greater than that of King or Emperor, reigning over them with more absolute power, and making them more miserable than the subjects either of the *Grand Seignior* or the *Cham of Tartary*, insomuch that they trample on the poorer people as dogs and frequently murder them: and when they do, are accountable to nobody, nor are call'd so much as to give a reason for *f. 11.* it. Were this haughty carriage and the violence us'd upon that account allow'd by the constitution of their country, the poor people were only to be commiserated, and their unhappyness would be that they were the subjects of such a Government. But then I should have nothing to do with it in this place.

But as it is the consequence of meer pride and arrogance founded upon birth and the pretended prerogative of blood, it is an example which, of all ever met with, most exposes the thing I am speaking of and is indeed the reproach, instead of being the true character, of a gentleman.

For take the nobility and gentry of *Poland*, not only as we know them to be by conversing with them in their private capacity, but as they appear in history; in the first place, they are the most haughty, imperious, insulting people in the world. A very valuable historian of our times says they are proud, insolent, obstinate, passionate, furious. These are indeed the born gentlemen; but how remote is this from the true bred gentlemen, of whom, thanks be to Heaven, we have some among us, and of whose character I shall have room to speak with some pleasure.

Then take them, I say, as they appear in history.
How

How false, perfidious, treacherous, mercenary, unsteady, not to be trusted upon the solemnest oath! Let the present King of Poland be our witness in this case. How often did they swallow his gifts by millions, then change sides upon the least disgust or as they found the stream run low, and then fight against him, that is, associate against him (for they can't be charg'd with much fair fighting), till they, as it were, swallow'd him up; and yet, after all, stood still and let a subject be put into the throne over his head by an enemy who, had but those very gentlemen that had eaten his bread, as it may be truly said, *that is, taken his money*, stood by him like gentlemen, as they call themselves, could never have¹ been brought to pass. ¶

How often have those men of honour, as *they are to be call'd*,—for all gentlemen are or ought to be such—play'd Jack a both sides, to-day for and to-morrow against, to-day for the *Saxon* to-morrow for the *Swede*, as the money could be got or the party was strongest.

Yet if you should ask a *Polander* what he is, he would tell you he is *gentleman of Poland*; and so much do they value themselves upon the name, that they think they are above being tyed to the rules of honour, which are the onely constituting laws of gentlemen. Nay they support themselves upon their being gentlemen even in doing the foulest and blackest things and which we say are below a gentleman, and expect allowance in those things, even from Heaven itself, on account of their birth and quality: an eminent instance of which we have in an infamous wretch, Capt. Vratz, a *Polander*, who, in cold blood, assassinated an English gentleman, *Thomas Thynne Esq^{re}*, shooting him into the body in his coach with a musqueteer loaden with 7 bullets; and who, the day before he was to be hang'd for it, when he

was

¹ MS. *ha'*.

was spoken with by the minister to prepare himself for death, answer'd that *he did not doubt but God would have som respect to him as a gentleman.*

Let us wonder no more at all the weak and wicked things those people can do under the skreen of their dignity, who can carry it such a length, as to believe Heaven itself regards them in the same station they regard themselves, and that they may act like devils under the mask of the gentleman.

v. and B.

And yet, as I said above, this does by no means intimate a levelling all mankind one with another : far otherwise, it exalts the true gentleman above the common, mechanick, labouring class as high as can be in reason desired or imagin'd, onely with this short addition easily understood and not impossible to be acquir'd, *namely*, that the virtue should go along with the title, the merit descend with the race, and follow the inheritance like a rent-charge upon the mansion house and park.

If the heir will cut off the entail, if he will quit the virtue, he should quit the name ; for a man, to have dignity without honesty, the name without the fame, the distinction of quality without the distinction of qualification, is like the coat of arms of the family without the estate. In a word, if he will cut off the entail of virtue and honor, he should cut off the entail of the title too, and should no longer call himself a gentleman than he will act like a gentleman, no longer pretend to be a man of blood and family than he will be a man of honesty and merit.

To be known by his crimes, at the same time that he claims to be known by his blood and the antiquity of his ancestors, is to register himself the shame of his race ; and to place himself as a mark of infamy upon his house, which, as in the case of a bend in his coat of arms, the escutcheon cannot be blazon'd without it, so
the

the history of his family can not be read over, but his own part must be left out or stand as a foyl to the brighter lives of the rest of his kindred.

f. 12. How is the ancient noble family of Sturton in Wiltshire remembrd with infamy, tho' full of illustrious ancestors, for the foul fact committed by one of the race! How is the silken halter which to this day hangs over his grave in the cathedrall of Salisbry and with which he was executed, all-ways remembr'd when the very family is but nam'd. All the good of the family is sunk and forgotten in that one crime, and the whole race now extinct is, as it were, attainted in fame, tho' not guilty.

It is the same with the family of the Lord Castlehaven and severall others that might be nam'd ; and if we come to matters of treason, we see the law is so severe that the attainder of blood extends to the posterity, and they are no more nam'd among the nobility.

And why should it not be so with every gentleman who giving himself up to crime dishonours his race? nay, it is so in the nature of the thing, whether it is so in the strict determination of the law : when he degenerates from the vertue of his ancestor, when he abandons himself to vice, and becomes loose and profligate, 'tis an attainder upon his blood ; he should be esteem'd as one that has abdicated the title of gentleman and levell'd himself with Newgate and the Bear-Garden.

Where is there any man that to this day will boast himself of being the posterity of a highway-man or a murtherer? Do we see any of the family and posterity of Guy Faux or of Lieutenant Felton? Who values himself upon the race of those assassins of princes, Balthazar Gerrard and of Poltrot? We have some famous Rabbis of the Jews left among the registers of
antiquity

antiquity of the *Æfmodean*¹ race, and some who fay they are of the pofterity of the good old Simeon ; we read of Rabbi Joſeph and Rabbi . . . Ben Gorion and others, but we never read, as I remember, of Rabbi Judas or the noble race of the forcerer Bar Jeſus or of Simon Magus.

As crime, when grave, notorious, and flagrant, brands a family even in the view of the whole world, and puts a ſtop to the fame of the whole race, ſo, I think, 'tis but juſt it ſhould do ſo to the claim of a gentleman, and the poſterity of a profligate ſhould be aſham'd of their anceſtor, blacken'd by his crimes and, whether hang'd or unhang'd, as well when he eſcapes juſtice as when he falls under the ſtroke of it.

As then the crimes of our anceſtors deface their memory in our eſteem, and make us bluſh to owne them or to own our ſelves to belong to, or be ſprung from, them, ſo when we abandon ourſelves to vice, we ought, for ourſelves and in behalf of our poſterity, to quit the name of gentleman, and to blot our ſelves out of the roll of our families. When we ceaſe to be honeſt men we ſhould ceaſe to claim the name of men of honour [for honeſty and honour are the ſame].

To conclude, it cannot juſtly be taken for a depreciating the rank and quallity of men of birth and blood to lay ſo much greater ſtreſs upon their perſonal merit and virtue than upon their lines and deſcent, the antiquity of their families and greatneſs of their anceſtors. It is, I think, doing a higher piece of juſtice to them and exalting them as really deſerving the dignity they poſſeſs, ſuppoſing them really to accumulate honour and add to the glory of their race by the illuſtrious merit of their own accions ; and were we to rate our nobillity and gentry by their rule, (viz.) of their own merit, and no otherwiſe, it would be the greateſt

¹ Error inſtead of *Aſmonean*.

greatest spur to great actions imaginable; and the world would soon apply to the practise of virtue as to the true and proper means of obtaining fame. We have one strange example in Europe, and it is nacionall too, where a whole people have cast off all claim of blood from their reall ancestors, and reject the very race they are descended from, onely because of the infamy of their character, and this is the Spaniards.

It is evident they are generally descended from the Moors, who, having conquer'd and for above 700 years possess't Spain and Portugal lost their tawny progeny by promiscuous generacion and intermarriages with the natives blended with the blood of the best and most antient families in Spain; and this is so evident in the very blood, the names, nay, and the very faces of Spain and Portugal, that you hardly find any families in either of those countryes who pretend to any line or genealogy farther back than the fifteenth and sixteenth century, except such as have settled in Spain from other countryes under the Spanish government.

Upon this very account it is that if you enquire into most of the great families in Spain, and especially those who claim a descent of much antiquity, they tell you their family came from Sicily or they were originally Neapolitans, or Milanese, or Flemish, or Burgundians, all which countryes were formerly subjects of the King of Spain; but not a man will own himself descended from a Moor: he would as soon claim a descent from Mahomet or Judas; and yet 'tis evident that most of them have undergone the mixture, and have it not onely in their language, their colour, their temper and their names but even (as abov) in their very faces, and that of the best of their families, not excepting the royal house of Braganza itself.

Let any man examine the countenances of the Spaniards, and especially of the Portuguese, and see if
there

there is ordinarily not something of the Moor and the Negrow in their very features. Nay, let them look on the new gold coin, where there is the bust or head of a certain king, and let them see if they can not distinguish something of the Moor in the very face, and yet the family is as great, as antient, and has had a race of heroes in it, equal to most in Spain or Portugal.

From what an original then are we to go for a gentleman in this part of the world? and yet they are not more tenacious of their blood and, as 'tis call'd, of their gentility in any nation in Europe, tho' the excellency of it is to stop the search at¹ the time of Ferdinand of Castile, so that the claim of blood is to go no higher on pain of scandal and disgrace.

Thus we see in some places the gentleman is valued for being antient and in some places for being modern; some for one thing, some another. (In *England* we desire no greater honour than to say our line can be trac'd back to the Conqueror, and that our ancestor came over with the conqueror :

*Tho' what the hero was no man can tell,
Whether a Drummer or a Colonell.)*

In *Russia* we see the short originalls of their chief nobility by no means affecte their glory. They tell us that, the old ducal race of the Muscovite blood being extinct, the late Czar himself was but in three removes the son of a Greek priest, and that none of the best or first-rate priests neither; that a certain great prince of the nation, who was at this time lately said to be the Deputy Czar (for so they call'd him) and chief mannager or minister of the whole Empire, tho' now in exile, was but a drummer in the Czar's army; and that the late Empress (Rest her soul) was but a chambermaid to the Lutheran Vicar of Dorpt in *Livonia* when that province

was

¹ at indistinctly written.

was Swedish; that she was hyr'd by the old man to wait upon his two daughters, and that she had but 5 Rix-dollars a year wages.

(How then did the late Czar raise his fame? how arriv to that pitch of glory? of whom it is truly said no prince ever obtain'd such an elevated character in so short a time. It was neither by his high birth or his education.) His father had nothing of it in him, was weak and inconstant in his temper, had neither knowledge natural or acquir'd; and as for his elder brother he was little better than a f. . . . It was not then convey'd by blood: he might be born of what he would, if they had it not themselves, they could not convey it by generation. *Nil dat quod non habet.* The being the son of an Emperor or the grandson of an Emperor stor'd the eldest son with no brains; and (how many eldest sons of heroes do we find inheriting the name without the genius, in a word the body without the soul. It was all owing to his industry and application; he had the genius lent by Heaven, not by the blood of his family; he had the head, and, above all, had a sence
f. 14. of his want of knowledge, which fir'd his soul with an earnest desire to kno', to learn, and to be instructed.) He sought wisdom, thro' the whole world; he applyed for knowledge in every branch of science. He knew he wanted it before, and he knew it was to be obtained, and this made him unwearied in his applicacion to encrease his knowledge, to cultivate his understanding. This made him resolv to travell, that he might furnish his head with knowledge: the want of it made him uneasie and unsatisfy'd with himself and with his whole empire: he abhorr'd to be ignorant of any thing, and from hence he resolv'd to see every thing that was to be seen, hear every thing that was to be heard, know every thing that was to be known and learn every thing that was to be taught.

But

But as God ask'd Adam after the fall, *Who told thee that thou wast naked?* so the question readily occurs here (and I assure you it has some weight in it), *Who told the Czar of Moscow that he was ignorant?* We kno' 'tis the particular property of a Rus to think they kno' every thing, and to abhor to be taught by any body; but it was not so with the Czar. What ever he knew he found he might kno' more of, nay he found other men knew more than himself. It was his usuall saying that every cobbler that came but from Germany or Holland knew more than he did.

They tell us that one of the main occasions of his being more than ordinarily sensible of the want of sense and understanding in himself, as well as in his own people, was at the first siege of Asoph, where he was oblig'd to raise the siege after the killing of two German engineers, meerly for the ignorance and unskilfulness of his own.

After that he went to Arch-Angel, where he conversed with some of the Dutch and English merchants and commanders of ships, and where he found, as he often said, every cabin boy taking observations, keeping the ship's reckonings and able to steer and work a ship better than any of his people; and that every mate or boatswain understood more of navigation than the best man in all his empire.

There he built himself a yacht or pleasure boat, and had almost drown'd himself to learn how to work it.

These things taught him to know his own ignorance and deficiency, and fir'd him with resolutions of improving himself that he might improve his whole empire. (This made him, according to Solomon, *Search for knowledge as for silver and dig for it as for hid treasure* Prov. 2. 4.)

If this sense of self-deficiency was able to form the soul of an Emperor, and to finish him for a hero, would
not

not the same humble thoughts assist and accomplish a gentleman, if improv'd and follow'd with the same application ; and if it was not below an Emperor thus to furnish his soul with knowledge, and even to force nature and form a genius to himself, to polish and finish his mind for the great actions which were before him in life, how can it be below a private gentleman to do the same ?

Indeed, if the Czar had not been bred abroad, one would not have taken him to be what we call a gentleman, especially an English gentleman ; for do we ever meet with an English gentleman that does not think himself wise enough and learned enough ? (Do not we English gentlemen think, that to be a good sportsman is the perfection of education, and to speak good dog language and good horse language is far above Greek and Latin ; and that a little damming and swearing among it makes all the rest polite and fashionable.) I met with one of this sort of gentlemen once that was very bright upon the subject with me. "What occasion has a gentleman to trouble himself," said he, "with books, and to spend his time poring over old histories ? what have we to do with the lives of a parcel of rotten kings and emperors, the Cæsars and Alexanders of the world ? aren't they dead and in their graves and forgotten ? and there let them lye and be forgotten. What does it signifye to us to enquire after them ?"

"There's Sir T P" (adds he) "and my Lord ; they have been travelling as they call it ; 'tis rambling *over the hills and far away*, moiling themselves in clambring over the mountains of the Alps and the Pyrenees and I kno' not where, hunting in every hole and corner to see graves and ruins, and to look upon the old heaps, that they may say they have seen the place where such a town stood, the vault where such an emperor was bury'd, and it may be they
had

had seen the town too, if it had not been lost, and the Emperor too, if he had not been dead; and what if they had? all they could say when they came home would be, I have seen such a town and such a Cæsar, to which one would answer as the Dutch do in the like cases, *Had you not un sac?* had you not a bag? that is to say, if you had, why did you not bring 'em away with you? Here was my Lord," adds his Worship, bantering a noble person who had spent some yeares abroad, "went over to Affrica, and what did he see there? why he saw a lyon, and so have I done in the tower; well, but he saw the ruines of the great city of Carthage, that is to say he saw Carthage lyeing in state, for it seems it was dead: he saw a great heap of rubbish and they told him, there the city of Carthage stood. Very good, and his Lordship values himself much upon it. —Why," sayes he, "I saw London once in rubbish, and that was better; for it had this difference, that London is risen again from the dead, and so is not Carthage, and never will; and I think I am even with his Lordship and have sav'd a labour of rambling a thousand miles for nothing."

Then my country esquire was witty upon the gentlemen that read and travell to stow themselves with knowledge, that are curious in searching into antiquity, and looking back into the records of time; that read the glorious accions of great men in order to imitate their vertue and, that by knowledge treasur'd up, make themselves rich in abillities as well as desire to serv their country. But he sets his foot upon it all as ridiculous, enjoys his espou'd brutallity, hunts, hawkes, shootes, and follows his game, hallows to his dogs, dams his servants, dotes upon his horses, drinks with his huntsman, and is excellent company for two or three drunken elder brothers in his neighbourhood; and as here is his felicity, so here is the uttmost of his accomplishments.

When

When¹ he comes to the estate, 'tis not the same onely but worfe ; for, his pride encreasing without his fence, he comes at last to the perfection of a fool, namely to be proud of his ignorance. This makes him talkative, and that makes him intollerable, because he talks nonsense and imposes it upon you for wit, argues without knowledge, grows dogmatic in his folly and at last quarrellsome, till, in a word, you must grant the most egregious ridiculous noise of his tongue to be fence and listen to it too, or you must fight him.

By this time, he gets a wife and perhaps an heir as wife as himself. If the lady be a toy, a flutter, an empty weakling like her spouse, she is happy ; if not, she is undone ; if she is a woman of fence and wit, she is ruin'd ; for to be ty'd down to converse with a fool, Heavens ! what lady of any understanding can bear it ! In a word, she languishes under the insupportable weight of it a few yeares ; when being smother'd with the fume and smoke of nonsense and impertinence, she expires, and ought to be put down among the various distempers in the yearly bill *suffocated* !

(These are the gentlemen of whom the great Rochester sayes they are good Christians,² for they allwayes believ Heaven has given them a full share of brains, and that they have wit enough.)

*In witt alone Heaven is munificent,
Of which to all so just a share is lent
That the most avaritious are content.
And none e're thinks the due division's such,
His own too little, or his friends' too much.*

But I shall be lost among fools, the crowd is so great that, as³ in a wood the bushes are so thick, I shall never find

¹ The subsequent text, as far as *in its order*, is marked for deletion, but is not struck out.

² Abbreviated in MS.

³ *that as* indistinct in MS.

find my way out. I must come back to the fact before me. Perhaps I may touch this fore place again in its order.

But I return to the question about the late Czar of Muscovy, which requires some thing to be said to it, viz., who told him that he was ignorant? It is indeed one of the hardest things in the world to convince any man that he is ignorant; like the sin of ingratitude 'tis what no body cares to confess.

The motion must be supernatural. It is not dictated by common principles; if it were, the world would be all wise, learned, knowing, and fully inform'd; for

*If fools could their own ignorance discern,
They'd be no longer fools, because they'd learn.*

Here I might take up a whole chapter by way of essay upon the extraordinary qualification of conceit, the puff'd up empty accomplishment, the coxcomb's glory mention'd as above, viz. opinion, wit, of which (Rochester merrily fums up the blessing in two lines, thus,

*With an estate, no witt, and a young wife,
The solid comforts of a coxcomb life.*)

It must be confess'd (so nature directs by the force of second causes) that 'tis very hard for a man thoro'ly ignorant of witt and good sence, that knows not what it is or means, not to mistake in his own favor, not to believ his naturall bastard wit to be good sterling, and so put it off for current coin when it is really a counterfeit. Now if this be his case,

first, you need not wonder that he is angry that you won't take it. For like an honest man that puts off brass money, if he does not know it is counterfeit, 'tis no breach of justice, and he is not blam'd, and, if you charge his integrity, he resents it: so our self-wise gentleman resents it to an extremety, if you reproach his understanding, because he believes it to be very good.

2. You

2. You are not to wonder that he scorns to be inform'd when he is already so fully perswaded, that his wit is consummate and at least superior to yours, who pretend to inform him. Nothing can be a greater affront to him than to offer to teach him who thinks himself able to teach the world, and that pretends both to have fence himself and judge of every one's elce.

Crede quod habes, et habes, if, according to the doctrine, to believe that we have wit is to be wise, happy! W . . . the flower of his family, master of the finest fence, the finest language, and the greatest show of wit of his whole generacion, no matter where he had it, what tho' his ancestors for three ages never had any and he was never taught any ; yet as the immense fund is secur'd in the mine tho' never dug up, and the substance exists in his imagination, the reallity is as evident and the operation as effectually as the division of colours in the prisme, where the eye sees what is not and realizes nonentity to a demonstration.

I should be very unwilling to treat the English gentlemen rudely, when they are so civil to themselves. Nothing is more affronting to a gentleman than to contradict him when he takes the affirmatio upon him, and if he assures me then that he is a man of fence, that he has a fund of brains and a stock of wit, whether it be mother-wit or clergy, it matters not ; good manners say I am oblig'd to believ it, and while I submit to the popery of it, how can I go about to undeciev him ? that would be popery indeed of another kind, (viz.) to preach one thing and profess another.

Here a man is embarrass'd in an inextricable labrinth : he is bound on one hand to see the fool (nature forbids shutting our eyes against the light), and he is bound on the other hand to recognize the wit ; and, which is the part particularly perplexing, both these center in the same object, yet it must be done, the laws of Nature command

command one, and the rules of decency, which is nature in a gentleman, oblige the other. Thus he submits to worship the idol when the deity is absent, as our people bow to the candles upon the altar when they deny the Reall Prefence, a sort of popery that every body may not think of.

I must say, however, 'tis something hard that, when Coll. Ch rattles at W s and talks so ridiculously that the very foot-men grin and sneer at it, I must sit by and say *yes* and *no* just as his brains jingle, and acquiesce in what every body that hears him knows to be the worst of nonsense onely because he weares a red coat and a sword, and, it may be, has two or three orderly men, corporalls or sergeants allways at his heels, who will knock a man down with their halberds, if we should not let him knock us down with his toungue.

I once met casually with one of those sons of ignorance in a country coffee-house. He had in his company two clergy-men¹ and his younger brother. One of the clergy-men¹ was the chapline of the family, the other a divine of some note in the next town, who, however, enjoy'd a living by the gift of those two gentlemen's father, who was yet alive, tho' the sons were both of them then grown.

The two brothers had a warm discourse about learning and wit, and it was as much as both the clergy-men could do to keep them from quarrelling.

The younger brother had been bred at the University, and had acquir'd a good stock of learning, which he had the felicity to graft upon a noble stock of originall fence. He had a genius above the common rate, and, as it was improv'd by a liberall educacion, it made him extremely valued by the best men, and particularly quallify'd by a polite conversation

¹ MS. *Clergy man.*

tion for the best company. The elder brother was a gentleman, that is, he was heir to an estate of about 3000 pounds a year, and expected to be chosen Parliament man at an election which was then at hand. He had been a hunting early that morning, and his man stood at the coffee house door with the French horn in his hand ; and the mustering being just ready to go home, the park and mansion house being about a mile out of the town, but meeting with his younger brother in the town, with the two clergy men, they came all together to the coffee house to read the news. When every one taking a severall paper in his hand,

f. 17. the gentleman happens to read a paragraph telling us that such a gentleman was made Commissioner in some business or other, I do not remember whether of the Customs or Excise or some other employment under the Government ; at which he threw down the paper in a kind of passion :

"D . . . m 'em," says he, "what fool must he be now that they have given him a place !"

"Who is it ?" says the brother.

"Why, there," says he, "look, 'tis that beggarly fellow, Sir Tho . . ."

"Why, brother ?" says the younger, "he is a very pretty gentleman I assure you, a man of merit, and fit for any employment whatsoever."

"A gentleman and a man of merit, what d'ye mean by that ? What family is he of ? Why, his grandfather was a citizen, a tradesman ! he a gentleman !"

Younger : "I don't know what his father was, or his grandfather ; but I assure you he has all the qualifications of a——"

Elder brother : "Of a what ? of a scoundrel. I tell you he is but one remove from a shopkeeper, his father was a——"

Younger :

Younger : "Nay I must interrupt you now, brother, as you did me. Let his father be what he will, his merit will make a gentleman of him in spite of family; besides he is a baronet by birth."

Elder : "A baronet? yes, his father got money by bubbling and tricking and jobbing, and bought a patent of a poor gentleman that was starving."

Younger : "Let the patent be bought by who it will; he inherits it, he didn't buy it."

Elder : "Well that does not make him a gentleman; you know what King Charles said, that he could make a knight, but could not make a gentleman."

Younger : "But I tell you, Sir Thomas was a gentleman before he was a knight."

Elder : "How do ye make out that, Doctor, with all your scholarship?"

Younger : "Don't be so witty upon your younger brother: I am no doctor, and yet I can make out that well enough. He was a man of virtue and modesty, had a universal knowledge of the world, an extraordinary stock of sense, and withall is a compleat scholar."

Elder : "And those things, you suppose, make a gentleman, do ye?"

Younger : "They go a great way towards it, in my opinion, I must confess."

Elder : "Not at all! they may make him a good man perhaps and a good Christian¹; nay, they may make him good company, but not a gentleman, by no means. I can't allow that."

Younger : "Then I don't know what a gentleman is at all, or what it means."

Elder : "Then I am sorry for your head. Have you gone all this while to school, and don't know what a gentleman is?"

Younger :

¹ Abbreviated in MS.

Younger : " I am mighty willing to learn, especially of my elder brother."

Elder : " Why then your elder brother may teach you. I take him to be a gentleman that has the blood of a gentleman in his veins. Nothing can be a gentleman but the son of a gentleman."

Younger : " And vertue, parts, fence, breeding, or religion, have no share in it."

Elder : " Not at all. They may constitute a good man, if you will, but not a gentleman. He may be the D . . . if he will, he is still a gentleman."

Younger : " Well then let me be the good man, and you shall be the gentleman. But I tell you, Sir Thomas has a thousand good things in him, and above all I take him to be that good man too ; for he is a very religious gentleman."

Elder : " Very good then ; he would have made a good parson, it may be, or a bishop ; but what's that to a gentleman ?"

Here the minister put in, tho' modestly too : " Sir," says he, " I hope you will allow a clergy-man may be a gentleman."

Elder : " What, do I touch your cloth too, Doctor ? I don't allow it I assure you. A parson a gentleman ? No, I assure you I allow no tradesmen¹ to be gentlemen."

Then the chaplain spoke : " That's too hard, Sir," says he, " upon our cloth. I hope you don't call us tradesmen¹ neither."

(*Elder brother* : " Not tradesmen¹ ? why, what are you ? Is it not your business to work for your bread, and is not that your trade² ? Is not the pulpit your shop, and is not this your apron, M^r Book Beater ?")
Here he took up a chaplain's scarf and gave it a twirle into his face, at which both the clergy-men rose up, as if they

¹ MS. *T men*, as often.

² MS. *T*, as often.

they would be gon ; but the younger brother took him up, but with respect.)

Younger brother : " O brother, don't abuse your friends ! remember you are a gentleman, what ever they are ; and I think they are gentlemen too."

Elder brother : " I find my brother don't kno' what *f. 18.* a gentleman is, indeed. Pray how do you make it out with all your school trumpery ? A parson a gentleman, how do you prove that ?"

(*Younger* : " It is not my business to prove them gentlemen by birth, because I don't kno' their families ; but I kno' there are some very good families of both their names. But there is such a thing as being a gentleman by office.) What d'ye think of that ?"

Elder : " By office ! What sort of gentlemen are they, pray ?"

Younger : " Why, for example, tho' I did not mean that, the King's Comission I think constitutes a gentleman effectually. Don't we call an officer in the Army a gentleman ? I think fighting for his country and his King, and entrusted by the King with command, gives him a title."

Elder : " I don't kno' that ; he is at best but a mercenary."

Younger : " No, no. Mercenaries were allways such soldiers as are hyr'd out from one nation to another meerly for pay, such as the Swifs, the Grifons, and such as they. But we must distinguish in this case. Soldiers entred into the service of their Sovereign can not be called mercenaries."

Elder : " Well, but the parsons don't were the King's Comission : what's that to them ?"

Younger : " I don't kno' how you'l come off, that way : they wear a higher comission than¹ the King's, I assure you."

Elder :

¹ MS. *y^m*.

Elder: "A commission d'ye call it? what, the bishop's commission! that won't do. That's all a church trick, a peice of priest craft."

Then the minister put in again: "Come, gentlemen," sayes he, "pray, don't differ about us. The young gentleman shall call us what he pleases. We have a higher commission than he thinks of, or perhaps he has not spent many thoughts about it. Whether the King can do it or not, we won't dispute; but we have our commission from him that, we are sure, can make a gentleman. Pray, don't differ about that."

Younger: "Well, I believ your claim good that way too, and I take a clergyman to be a gentleman by office, too, tho' that was not what I meant."

Elder: "It's well if you kno' what you meant."

Younger: "Yes, I kno' what I meant, and I nam'd it to you before. I say a man that beares the King's Commission and is entrusted with the command of his subjects in the field, is a man of honour, and I think a clergy-man the same on account of his office. Pray, what would you call the son of an officer in the Army or the son of a dignify'd clergy-man?"

Elder: "I suppose you kno' what they are call'd abroad, brother. To call a man the son of a priest is to call him the son of a whore."

Younger: "That's quite another case; that's because of the celibacy of the Romish clergy; but we must distinguish between Protestant and Popish."

Elder: "Yes, yes; and you must distinguish between a priest and a gentleman."

Younger: "Not at all; unless it be to the minister's great advantage, viz., that he may be a gentleman by birth and by office, too."

Elder: "That's no distinction at all."

Younger: "But I distinguish again; I say there are gentlemen by birth and gentlemen by education,
and

and I infist that the last is the better of the two ; for he is the best and truest originall of a gentleman, and has been so, of all the families of gentlemen in England ; or else they have no originalls at all."

Elder : " I thought we should have some of your school logic ; it's much you had not given us some old scraps of Latin to make out this new distinction. English-men, they say, allways talk other people's Latin and none of their own."

Younger brother : " Well, I neither talkt other people's Latin or my own. I was not willing to affront my elder brother."

Elder : " What d'ye mean by that ? pray explain yourself." [*Speaks angrily.*]

Younger : " Why, I would not speak a language my brother did not understand. If I must explain myself, I must."

Elder : " I don't desire to understand it, I hate all your pedantry ; but what's that to your learned distinction of a gentleman by birth and a gentleman by education ? "

Younger : " No, no, it's nothing to my distinction ; it was onely a return to my brother's witt ; you was so sharp upon me."

Elder : " I wit ? I have enough to serv me. I have wit enough for a gentleman. I hate your wits. I would not be a-kin to a wit if I could help it."

Younger : " Nor I to a fool."

Elder : " I hope you mean my father. I wish he was present to hear you."

Younger : " You can't suppose I meant my father, because he is known to have more wit and more learning than all of us, and if he was here he would not see room to think I meant him."

Elder : " Then you mean your brother : which if

I thought you did, I should let you kno' I repent it as I ought to do."

Younger : "I mean nothing but what I say ; and I am neither afraid of what I said or what I meant or of any body's repentment." [*Now they grew very hot.*]

Elder : "Then I desire you to explain your self again."

Younger : "You ought to explain first ; you made the first reflection."

Elder : "What should I explain?"

Younger : "Why, what you meant by being a-kin to a witt. I say that is a full reflection upon my father."

Elder : "I thought you would have taken it to yourself."

Younger : "No ; no ; tho' I am no witt, yet I have more wit than that, too. If you meant me you will be agreeably disappointed, I assure you, tho' I am none the less obliged to you for your good will."

Elder : "So I must mean my father, must I ? that's as wise as the rest."

Younger : "I kno' ne're another wit in the family. You must mean my father or have no meaning."

Elder : "Then it may be I had no meaning."

Younger : "No, no, that's too polite for an elder brother, too."

Elder : "Ay, ay, you younger brothers have all the witt, that makes 'em have so little manners."

f. 19. *Younger* : "That's all upon my father again. I don't think my father wants manners any more than he does witt or learning."

Elder : "But his younger son may for all that."

Younger : "I have heard my father thank God many a time that he was a younger brother."

Elder : "And what for, pray?"

Younger : "Because if he had not, he said, he would have

have been a blockhead, an untaught lump of ignorance and pride, as his elder brother was and as most of the eldest sons of his acquaintance were."

Elder: "And as his own eldest son is, you should say."

Younger: "Nay, that's your own. I say nothing but my father's words: if you have a mind to come in for a share of it, you may make your best of it, I sha'n't meddle with that."

Elder: "You are so farr from good manners that you are impudent. I don't believ you ever heard the words, or that ever my father said so."

Younger: "Why, had you not given me the lye in your abundant manners? You need not boast so much of being a gentleman."

Elder: "It is none of your place to tell me a false thing any more than 'tis to tell me of my manners."

Younger: "Look you, Sir, giving me the lye is a kind of usage that takes away all relation. I kno' what's my place as well as you do; but I assure you I'll no more take the lye from my elder brother than I will from a porter. I don't think that's my place at all."

Elder: "I think you have forgot being a gentleman. I wish my father was not cheated. I think you was nurst abroad, wa'nt you?"

The gentlemen began now to be so hot 'twas time to part 'em, especially seeing it was in public too; for the younger brother layd his hand upon his sword.

However, the clergymen pacify'd them with entreaties, and two or three of the townsmen put in to help reconcile 'em; so they sat downe again and were good friends for a little while; but they had better have parted them at first and let them have gone home assunder as they came out. For falling
into

into other discourse, one thing brought forward another, and in a little time, they fell to it again upon the same subject.

The younger brother happens to read a paragraph from Edinburgh, where there was an account of a man that was tryed and sentenc't to death for a robbery and a very barbarous cold-blood murder. But that when the Lords of the Justiciary, those are the judges in the criminal cases in that country, came to pass sentence, that sentenc'd him to be beheaded, because he was a gentleman, being it seems the third son of a laird (or country esquire) in that country.

The young gentleman laugh'd, but said nothing, and gave the print to one of the clergy-men to read, and he smil'd, but lay'd down the paper wisely declining to take any notice of it, because he fear'd it might embroil the two brothers again.

But the elder brother perceiv'd there was something extraordinary by their smiling, and ask'd his brother what he laugh't at. He endeavour'd to put it off, and so did the minister but he would not be answer'd so. However, not being able to get any answer from them that was satisfactory, he takes up the paper himself.

f. 19 b. When he comes to the story, too, he laugh't as they did and shews it the chaplain. "Here," says he, "see how civil they are to young brothers in Scotland."

The clergyman reply'd : "No, Sir, it was not a civility as he was a younger brother, but as he was a gentleman."

"I don't know," says he, "I think strictly speaking younger brothers should not be call'd gentlemen."

"Your servant, Mr. Elder Brother," says the young gentleman, "Pray how, then, come you to call yourself a gentleman? I think your father was a younger brother."

"And

"And your fervant, Mr. *Cadet," sayes the elder. "He was the eldest when he came to the estate ; or elce how did he claim the inheritance."

(N.B. *Cadet is the French word for the younger son of a gentleman's family.)

Younger : "So that according to you a man may be a gentleman and no gentleman, both in a quarter of an hour."

Elder : "Yes, yes ; if I were hang'd you would be a gentleman ; there's no question of that."

Younger : "If you please to walk into Scotland, you see you may secure yourself from being hang'd, be as wicked as you will."

"But, Sir," sayes one of the clergymen, "I have heard that in Scotland, if a gentleman is executed for murther, the blood is attainted and his heirs are, ipso facto, deprived not of the estate onely, but of the title of a gentleman as 'tis here in cases of treason."

Younger : "So then, that sacred thing call'd a gentleman is forfeited by crime."

Elder : "I don't think that very just ; 'tis punishing the children for the father."

Younger : "But it serves to my point exactly : if crime may unmake a gentleman, why should not vertue and education constitute a gentleman ?"

Elder : "You talk like a younger brother, indeed."

Younger : "Well, then I don't talk like a fool."

Elder : "No, no ; the younger brothers have all the witt ; it should be so because they are younger sons."

Younger : "I suppose that's the reason you would have no younger sons be call'd gentlemen."

Elder : "I understand you as I suppose you understand yourself. Your elder brothers are all fools ; you would have them be so."

Younger : "No, I would not have all the elder
brothers

brothers be fools, but I would have all the fools be among the eldest sons, and I think a good share of them are so."

Elder: "Well! well! I the estate and you the wit. I won't change with you."

Younger: "Nor I with you for your estate, if it were more than it is."

Elder: "But if I were hang'd you'd be the eldest son, and then you'd be a fool too, of course, wouldn't you?"

Younger: "Ask my father that question, I tell you he was a younger brother."

f. 20. *Elder*: "The younger sons should have all the wit; sometimes they have nothing else to live on."

Younger: "I'd run the venture of the last if I were sure of the first."

Elder: "The heir you know has no need of the wit, if he has but the estate."

Younger: "If you think so, you are happy."

Elder: "Ay, ay. I am very well satisfied; the estate's enough for me."

Younger: "Most eldest sons are of your mind, and that makes us see so many heirs that can't write their own names."

Elder: "No matter; if they can but read their own names in the deeds of their inheritance."

Younger: "'Tis a blessed character of the English gentry; there's scarce one in five of them can speak good English."

Elder: "I have heard you talk of such and such families and gentlemen, that such a one was a good scholar and such an one was a man of sense: and yet they had good estates."

Younger: "Yes, I do remember four that I used to name, but three of them were bred up younger sons or else they had been——"

Elder:

Elder: "Blockheads like the rest of the gentry."

Younger: "You speak more truth than your share, brother."

Elder: "And you something less."

Younger: "I speak nothing but what I believ to be true; and if it was to be enquir'd into, I believ it would appear that, thro'-out England, take those few of our gentry and nobillity who are men of learning and wit, men fit for ministers of State, honours and employment, and you may find two thirds of them were younger sons and so had their parts cultivated by liberrall educacion, as it were by accident."

Elder: "I hope the eldest sons may be born with as much wit and sence as the youngest. The gifts of nature are not learnt at school."

Younger: "They are improv'd at school: those rough diamonds are polished by the schools and by the help of books and instruccion."

Elder: "And sometimes as well without: a good genius will improv itself."

Younger: "Why isn't it so then? Where is there an eldest son in 20 bred to Letters? How many do we see at the Univerfities?"

Elder: "A great many."

Younger: "Not a great many compar'd to the number: of thirty thousand familys of noblemen and gentlemen of estate which may be reckon'd up in this kingdom, I venture to say there is not 200 of their eldest sons at a time to be found in both our Univerfitys. At the same time you shall find ten times that number of their younger sons."

Elder: "And what's done with the eldest sons then? What, are they taught nothing?"

Younger: "Very little truly. They are bred at home." f. 21.

Elder: "They are bred like gentlemen."

Younger:

Younger : "Yes, yes, they are bred like gentlemen and taught like gentlemen, that is, taught nothing."

Elder : "They have tutors and preceptors kept to wait on them."

Younger : "Kept to play with them you should say."

Elder : "Ay, and to teach them too."

Younger : "Yes, to teach them to be wicked, instill the love of their pleasures into them very early, teach them to waſt their firſt houres in which the mind is moſt capable of improvment till at laſt 'tis too late and they puſh into the world juſt as they happen to be form'd by nature, rough and unpoliſhed and either coarſe or fine, knowing or ignorant, juſt as it happens. And this is the generall caſe with moſt of our gentlemen."

Elder : "And yet they are the compleateſt gentlemen in the world."

Younger : "I don't grant that, I aſſure you."

Elder : "I hope you grant they are the richeſt."

Younger : "Perhaps, take them one with another, they may be the richeſt ; but what does that argue in their favour ?"

Elder : "Well then, they will allwayes be the beſt ; I ſee nothing in it ; if we have but the eſtates, let all the reſt of your fine jingle fall as it will ; for my part I don't value it a ſtraw. I have the better of you there, brother."

Younger : "I don't envy you. I tell you I would not change with you."

Elder : "Change ? prethee what hav you to change ? Giv me the eſtate ; what have you to offer in exchange ? Your ſcraps of Latin, your ſhreds of wit, your pretences to ſobriety. If you could part with them, carry them to market and ſee if they would yeild you money to buy a horſe to ride on."

Younger :

Younger : "You talk like yourself still. If I had all those things you despise, as learning, witt, fence, and vertue ; as they are not to be sold, so remember they are not to be bought ; all your estate won't purchase them."

Elder : "I wouldn't giv you my fox-hounds for all your vast colleccion of books, tho' my father was to give you his library to joyn with 'em."

Younger : "And I won't giv my books for you and your fox-hounds put together."

Elder : "You couple us well ; that's something like a younger brother, I confesse."

Younger : I have yourself for my author ; it was but yesterday when you were swearing at your huntsman for going out a little before you ; did not you damn him for not taking all the pack together ? and when he very innocently told you he had all the pack, but your Worship *was not ready*, did not you very wittily damn him for not joyning his words better together ?"

Thus far the two brothers went on between jest and *f. 22.* earnest, and the two clergymen sat by very uneasie for fear of mischief between them ; for they afterwards fell to words again about some of their family broils, which do not relate to our present business, nor is it fit to be made public ; at length, however, they parted 'em ; and the esquire called his man to bring him the French horn, and began to make a bluster and a noise in the house ; which being very disagreeable to his brother and the two ministers, they dropt out one by one and left him.

After they were gone, he sends for two or three townsmen, mean, sorry fellows, but such as the place afforded and such as usually hung about him, flattering and praising him and withall usually spung'd upon him for what they could get ; with these he goes to the next house, which was an inn and tavern, *as is usuall*

usuall in the country, and there he gets something to eat, sits after dinner with his fots till he got very drunk, and then sends his horses home and orders the coach to fetch him : and so ended the day like a gentleman.

I might give you many examples of this kind to illustrate the character of this born gentleman ; but we see it so frequent in every place, in all company, and almost on all occasions, that it would be needless. I shall however have occasion to speak to several other parts of it as I go on.



C A P. II.¹

IF the introduccion of gentlemen were in all nacions and in all ages the same, and we had nothing singular to our selves in it; if our gentlemen were brought up and introduc'd into fociety in the same manner as it is in other nacions; or, which is the lowest and meanest step we can take in their favour, if the gentlemen of other nacions were manag'd just after the model of ours, I had little or nothing to say, at least we should have nothing left us but to complain of the generall calamity of humane nature, and that the age was entirely given up to pride and ignorance, that the gentry were leuell'd with the commonalty, the great and the noble with the mean and the base, and, in a word, there was now no difference between the lord and his footman, the landlord and his tennant. For as the body is without the head, so is the head without the brains; as the ship is without a helm, and the helm without the steers-man and the steers-man without a pilot

¹ The following heading has been struck out:—

Of the great mistakes in the first manning the children of gentlemen, and of the horrible corruption of blood from the suckling them by those [three words thickly scratched out].

That the ignorance and the bad educacion of gentlemen of quallity and fortune is no where in Christendome so entirely neglected as in this nacion, and some thing of the consequences of it.

pilot, so is the man that has brains, without his books, or with his brains and his books, without a teacher to instruct. Of what use is it to a man that he has a tongue to speak, that he has books to read, if he has no ear? if he cannot hear he can never speak, at least
f. 23. can not be said to have the use of speech; he can not judge of sounds, nor can he form the common ideas of what he sees for want of knowing the names of things and the uses to which they are applied.

What is all the musick in the world, all the harmony of sounds to a deaf man? all is lost while the organ is closed up, and the vessels which form the ear can not discharge the functions of their office.

To me an untaught, unpolish'd gentleman is one of the most deplorable objects in the world. 'Tis a noble, stately and beautifull organ without the bellows to fill the harmonious pipes and form the sound. The soul of such a person seems to be like a lion in a cage, which, tho' it has all the strength, the beauty, the courage of a lion, is yet surrounded with unpassable bars and a checquer-work of restraints, and can neither exert its strength or its swiftness, or show its terrors among the four footed world as, if he were at liberty, nature would dictate to him to do.

What secret unaccounted for possession can it be, then, that has thus seiz'd upon the senses of our gentry, more than upon others? 'Tis no compliment upon our native country to say of it that we have as illustrious a nobility and as numerous a body of gentry as any nation in Europe. To this we may add, and all Europe will acknowledge it, that our nobility and gentry, even in spite of immoderate profusion, which for some yeares was a kind of an epidemick distemper upon them, are still at this time the richest, and have the greatest and best estates, and hold them upon the best tenure, of any nation in the world.

It

It may be true that there are some few personal exceptions in the world as to wealth, that is to say, that in some nations there are certain particular personages who have greater estates than any single or particular person or family in England; the exceptions are very few, and therefore I may venture to name them.

1. In Spain and Italy, and perhaps in most Popish countries, the clergy are richer, that is to say the archbishops and bishops and some abbots have greater revenues than any of our protestant clergy of like rank, as especially in Spain, where severall of their archbishops and bishops have from £10,000 to £50,000 sterling per annum revenue, and a bishop of 20,000 peices¹ of eight is reckon'd but an indifferent thing. Such as these are the Archbishop of Toledo, of Seville, of Mexico, of Naples and others, and the Bishops of Granada, of Malaga, and of Los Angeles. The first of these is said to be worth above £80,000 a year sterling, and the last about £25,000 a year, and so in their degree of others; and they reckon in generall in Spain ten Bishops whose revenue is from £10,000 a year upwards. As to the revenue of the cardinals² which are generally made up by plurallities of livings, such as abbeys and bishopricks, there are few of them who do not enjoy from 10 to £20,000 a year revenue, and some of them 30 to £40,000 sterling.

2. Likewise some of the nobility in Spain, especially such as have been Viceroyes of Mexico, Peru, formerly of Naples or Sicily; such also as have been governors of the Manillas, of Chartagena, S^t Jago in Chili, and such places as are eminent for wealth. Most of these *f. 23 b.* are indeed immensly rich. It is the like among the princes of the Blood in France, some of whom have from 50,000 to 150,000 pistols revenue, likewise some who

¹ MS. *ps.*, as often.

² MS. *Ca.*

who have acquired great estates by public services, as some of the Mareschalls of France, particularly the Mareschall Duke of Luxemburg, Villeroy, Villars, Vendosme, Berwick, the old Duke de Nemours, Count de Tholoufe, Duke of Noailles, and some others.

But these estates are all either rais'd in the service and by infinite advantages of the war, of which our Marlbro', Cadogan, and others may be called examples at home, or such as depend upon the absolute will and pleasure of the king, which they call His Majesty's¹ bounty and consists of pensions, which they call in the princes of the Blood appennage, and governments which are places of honour with the profits annex'd.

But to go back, take the estates of the English nobility and gentry, as stated before, and except onely, as I have said, a few foreigners, and I insist, as above, that our nobility and gentry out-do the nobility and gentry of any nation in the world.

How many private gentlemen might be nam'd in England who enjoy estates of from 5 to 15000 pound sterling value per annum, and all in, or as good as, freehold land! How many estates which do not rate at above £1000 per annum rent, have 40 to 50 to 60,000 pounds in timber upon them, which may be valued upon them, and do the woods no hurt to have it fell'd; and other estates have mines, minerall quarries, coal pits, etc., in proportion.

Add to this that which is the glory of the English gentry above all the nations in the world, (viz.) that their property in these estates is in themselves; that they are neither subject to the frowns or the caprices of the sovereign on any dislike or dissatisfaction; that they inherit their lands *in capite*, absolutely and by entail, which even treason it self can not forfeit or cut off any farther than for the life of the delinquent; that they

¹ M in MS.

they are not subjected to any homages or services by their tenures. All the knight's service and vassallage is abolish'd, they are as absolutely possess'd of their manours and freehold as a prince is of his crown. Nor can they be oppress'd with taxes, arbitrary impositions, quartring of soldiers, or any of the ordinary oppressions of subjects in use under arbitrary governments; nothing can be levyed on them but by consent in Parliament, where choosing their own members every man may be said to give his own consent before he can be tax'd, that is, in short, to have the giving of his own money; all which particulars being considred, a gentleman's estate in England is worth 5 times the income in pensions or governments which are at the will of the granter, or than lands, however settled or entail'd, that are subject to the taxes, impositions, quartring of soldiers and other ravages of the Sovereign, I should have said, the *tyrants*, which is the condition of almost all the inheritances in Europe.

The conclusion of all this revolves upon us with great disadvantage in the case before me, because all this felicity is attended with the unhappiness of a voluntary and affected stupidity and ignorance, which, being the case of a set of gentlemen who by all their other circumstances¹ are qualified to be the most compleatly happy of any people in the world, and to be made, nay to make themselves, the envy, the admiration, and the example of all the gentry in Christendome,² are yet made despicable by their own choice, miserable in the midst of the highest humane felicity, and are become the scoff and contempt of their inferiours even in the same country, as well as of their equals in all the neighbouring countries that know them; and to add to the absurdity of this, like the Muscovites they support the practice with an obstinacy not to be describ'd

¹ Abbreviation in MS.

² *Xdome*.

describ'd but by the example of that stupid people who, fond of their old follies, would rather dye than be made wiser, who thought it was a dishonour to learn any thing from other nations, however just, humane, prudent, or agreeable to their reason.

With what obstinacy will some of our ignorant gentlemen argue against learning ; with what contempt do they treat the bookish part of the world, insist upon it that their dogs and their horses, their sport, and their bottle are the proper business of a gentleman ; that his pleasures are appointed to him for his full employment ; that Heaven gave them estates to enjoy them, as they call this way of living, to satiate their souls with good, and to remove them from all the dull unpleasant part of life called business and application.

They tell us that they do not seem to understand the blessing design'd for them if they don't know what station they are plac'd in ; that the world is given them to taste the sweet of it, and to fill themselves with its delights, and that they are to understand it as Providence¹ understood it when he gave it them.

They subjoin to this that the language of Heaven to them is, " Eat, drink and be merry ! Have not I given thee that which answers all things ? "—that honours are for the ambitious ; their sphere is like the glorious sun to move in their own circle, that they may indeed shine upon others and warm others by charity and doing beneficent things among their neighbours and tenants, but that to go out of their orbit of happiness is below them.

As for wars, let beggars and mercenaries be knock'd on the head for wages : they have money to pay soldiers. What business have they to hazard their lives, harass and expose themselves when they may stay at home and be easy ? Let the ambitious wretches
hunt

The MS. has a *D* with a dot in the middle.

hunt for fame and to wear feathers in their caps. Their fame is written over their doors, viz., that there lives an English gentleman of an antient family and a good estate, and their business is to hunt the stag and the fox with their own hounds and among their own woods; that their fame is in the field of pleasure, not the field of battle. Innocent delights take up their time, ranging the country for their game, not ravaging the country for spoil, not murdering the people and turning the pleasant world and the fruitful fields into desolation.

As to books and reading, 'tis a good, dull, poring work for the parsons and the pedants. They don't see that all the learning in the world makes men better, but they generally learn more knavery than honesty: the state-men study bribery and corruption to carry on faction and parties; the physicians learn to pick pockets one way, and the lawyers another; science and arts, what do they aim at, and where do they end? All issues in the art to get money: and what has a gentleman to do with all this? Heaven has given him money, and he has enough; 'tis below him to get money, his business is to spend it. He has enough, and he that has enough can be no richer, if he had twice as much. If he at last should grow covetous and pretend to encrease his wealth, why, 'tis but retrenching a little, and his estate will encrease it self. A gentleman of 2000 a year may be as rich as he will; let him but lay up one thousand pound a year, and in twenty year his estate will double, and in twenty more it will double again, and so on from father to son, till *f. 25.* in two generations the family shall have twenty thousand pound a year, or as much more as he pleases.

"And what am I the better" (said the same warm gentleman I mentioned just now) "for all this saving and scraping? Da...m all your good husbandry.

It is given me to spend, and I'll spend it. I'll not spend beyond it. No! No! I abhor to be dun'd. I'll ne're run in debt neither. I'll leav my son as well as my father left his son. I'll warrant I won't lessen it; but for the rest, let the userer lay up his money, 'tis my proper business to spend it; 'tis my *calling*; Heaven has given it me that I should enjoy it, and it would be a sin in me to lay it up. Let the money circulate, and let the poor be the better for it. I have heard my old grandfather say that they that hoarded money injur'd the Common Wealth, that money was made round that it might wheel about the world, roll from hand to hand, and make the world glad: and yet my grandfather, tho' he was a merry old knight, left the estate better than he found it, and planted a thousand acres of woods, that are now full of good timber, and I may cut them down when I will."

This is a kind of merry rhetorick, and is so unhappily calculated to please and humour our gentlemen, that it is next to impossible to answer it, I mean to answer it so as to convince them that they are in the wrong.

'Tis in vain to quote the examples of the wise and the great; they despise it all. They desire to be no wiser or greater than they are. Mother-wit they tell you is enough to keep them out of harm's way, that is, from bites and sharpers; and as for other learning, they see nothing in it.

Thus admirably did Solomon draw the picture of this kind of a gentleman in a few words, when he tells us, *The fool has no delight in understanding*. These people have no taste of things, no relish for improvements either of their understandings or estates.

When the late Czar of Muscovy was upon his travels and often times lookt into the Universities, the libraries, the laboratories of the men of learning and art, he used
to

to turn himself about to Monsieur¹ Le Fort, his great favourite, and smiling would say, "When shall I bring my stupid people to understand these things?"

It was very remarkable that in all his vast and populous city of Moscow they had not a printing press; and when he set one up among them, the Boyars said, "And what signified reading books to us? What is it to us how the rest of the world live? we know how to live at home." Their best surgeons knew nothing of anatomy; their best astronomers knew nothing of eclipses; they had not a skeleton in the whole empire, except what might be natural in their graves; their geographers had not a globe; their seamen not a compass (by the way they had no ships), even their physicians had no books. Experiments were the height of their knowledge, and so we may suppose when a practitioner had killed 4 or 500 he might pass for a doctor.

Even their handicrafts had no tools; there was not a Russian clock-maker or watch-maker to be found in the whole empire: if there were some Germans at Moscow who had some tolerable skill, the Russes, though they might buy a clock of them, would never learn to make one, or put any of their sons to the trade; to travel abroad, to see the world and increase their knowledge by the experience and example of other nations, was reckoned scandalous, was below the dignity and quality of the gentleman; and when the Czar himself did it the learned clergy (with pardon for the slander) reproach'd him with it as a sin; and when he returned and endeavour'd to conform his people to the best customs of other nations, and especially when he set up schools to instruct the children in languages and in arts and sciences, and oblig'd the Boyars, that is, the country gentlemen, to send their children to them and teach them to write and read, they protested against all

¹ *Monsr.*

all those innovations, ay, and at last raif'd a rebellion for the liberty of being ignorant.

f. 25 b. It may be true that this is an example of brutallity and meer obstinacy, and the worse, as their customes were inconsistent with common sence: and it is true it is so.

But I can not but think 'tis very apposite to the case before me, notwithstanding¹ that for the obstinate rejecting so glorious an improvement as that of giving learning to a gentleman of fortune, is in my notion of it as disagreeable with common sence as the grossest peice of brutallity insisted on by the poor Muscovites, and that with some aggravacions to the disadvantage of the parallell on our side, and which makes our practise be the greater scandal of the two.

1. That our gentlemen have innumerable examples at their very door of the advantages of learning, of the difference between a liberall education and the meer old woman litterature of a nurse and a tutor: they may see the demonstration of it even in their own families, where the bright and the dull, the blind and the clear, the man of sence and learning and the block-head, is as often to be discern'd as the heir and the cadet are seen together, where one is untaught and good for nothing because he is to have the estate, and the other is polish'd and educated because he is to make his fortune; the last is to be prepar'd to liv by his witts, and the other is to have no wits or, at best, no learning, because he can liv without them, as if education like an apprenticeship was for no body but they that were to trade with it and make a trade² of it.

2. Another thing in which we are more to be reproacht than the Muscovite is, that ignorance in Muscovy is generall and nationall, and they have no encouragement for learning, nay, it may be said they have no use for

¹ Abbreviated.

² MS. T.

for it ; they neither see the benefit or the beauty of it : where-as here the obstinacy is continued in spite of conviction, nay, in spite of its being scandalous to themselves, and even to the meanest of the people about them.

While this was so, 'tis not to be wondred at that the *f. 26.* gentry, the nobility, and the best and wealthiest of the people in those countries, were in love with the sordid ignorance they were bred in, and fond of going on in the same gross customs which their darkest guides led them in by their example : and this is the reason of my giving the Muscovites for a parallel. For what we find here among our gentlemen is I think more inexcusable and more scandalous than the worst of it.

For here our gentlemen are brought up in the most obstinate ignorance and folly, and fill'd early with the most riveted aversions to learning and improvement in the very face of an improving and knowing age, in spite of the encouragement every-where given to polite learning ; where arts and science flourish before their faces, and when the age they live in and the country they live in is particularly fam'd over the whole Christian¹ world for the highest improvements in the sublimest studies, and where our masters of science are justly allow'd to have out-gone all that ever went before them in the world, such as Sir Isaac Newton, Mr. Lock, the great and truly honorable Mr. Boyle, who was not a gentleman only, not a man of birth and blood as to antiquity only, but in degree also, being of noble blood and of one of the families that has the most enobled branches of any in England and Ireland.

I could name many more who by illustrious birth and their more illustrious merit one would think have shewn the world such examples, and trac'd out such paths of virtue, of learning and superlativ understanding,
that

¹ MS. X.

that it were enough to have brought learning and good fence into fashion among us, and to have sham'd the ignorance and illiterate blindness of the age out of the practise of the gentry.

But I am told, even while I am writeing these sheets, that if I expect to make any impression upon the age in this way of arguing I must change my method ; that to talk to the gentlemen of learning and improvement after they have tasted the sweets of idleness and pleasure is to talk gospel to a kettle-drum ; that after they have follow'd the dogs and the hawks, and eas'd their fateagues of the chafe with the bottle, there is no room for instruction ; but they go on, then, by the impetuosity of their own gust, following one game with another till the habit is rooted, till the blockhead and the heir are blended together and become inseperable ; that then the ignorance is seated in the blood as well as in the brain, and the brute becomes naturall to the man, so that there's no good to be expected that way ; but that, if I expect to attack this shamefull peice of negligence, I must run it up to its original, and turn my pen
f. 27. from the gentlemen, who are now past instruction, and talk to the ladies, who are the first instruments of instruction, and who have the particular power as well as opportunity of printing the most early ideas in the minds of their children, who are able to make the first impressions upon their imagination and perhaps the strongest and most durable ; for the most early and timely hints given in a suitable manner to the understanding of a child, have generally a vast advantage, take the deepest root in the minds, and are hardly ever forgotten : Here, they tell me, I should applye ; that the ladies alone are the agents who have the fate of their sons in their power and can write them fools and fops or men of brains and fence as they please ; that these have them in their arms and upon their knees at the
 very

very moments when the most early hints are to be given to the mind, when the genius, like a peice of soft wax, may be moulded up to what form, and to reciev what impreffions, they please, and when, a few obstinacyes and meer incapacityes of nature excepted, a child may be form'd to be a man of fence or a brute which they please.

I acknowlege this to be a just obfervation in many and indeed in most cases, especially where the lady-mother has the heir in her own tutelage; and while she has him so, 'tis not to be questioned but she has an immoderate share of his fate in her dispose, and that it is very much, I had almost said too much, in her power to make him a wise man or a fool, a good man or a good-for-nothing man, as she thinks fit; and it would be happy for the next age, tho' the present race is past this remedy, if the ladies would shew a little concern about it; that they would have some pity upon their posterity, and not give 'em up so very early, and, at least, not so entirely to the negligence of those murderers of a child's moralls, call'd *tutors*.

It is indeed too true that this wealthy age is so entirely given up to pleasure, and it prevails so much among the ladies as well as among the men, that it grows a little unfashionable for the mothers to give them selves any trouble with their children, after they have 'em, but to order their drefs and make them fine and to make a shew of them upon occasion. 'Tis below a lady of quallity to trouble her self in the nursery, as 'tis below the gentleman of quallity to trouble himself with a library.

To talk to a lady at this time of day of meddling with her children's educacion, forming their young minds by the most early instruccions, and infusing infant ideas of religion and morall virtue into their souls, ridiculous stuff! You may as well talk of sucking
them,

them, a thing as unnatural now as if God and Nature had never intended it, or that Heaven had given the ladyes breasts and milk for some other use.

I do not lov digressions at all, especially long ones, and shall let you see it by making this, that ought to be and would bear a chapter by it self, the subject of so few words.

I have been told that Queen Anne (the First I might call her), I mean Queen Anne, wife or consort to King James the First, and daughter of the King of Denmarke, suckled all her own children ; that, when it was objected to her that it was troublesome to her and below her dignity, Her Majesty answered with a kind of an admiration, Troublesome ! No, it was so far from troublesome that she thought it a pleasure beyond all pleasures, because they were her own. " Besides (sayd Her Majestie) will I let my child, the child of a king, suck the milk of a subject, and mingle the royal blood with the blood of a servant. No ! No ! the son of a king should suck none but the milk of a queen ; and if it is not below me to bear children, 'tis not below me to feed them." This is the sentence for which I quote the case, and make what I call a digression.

Here was a true queen-mother, and it is left on record that she was a most excellent princefs. Now are our ladyes so nice in their distinctions of families ? do they scorn so much to mix as they call it, the blood of a gentleman with the race of a mechannick, and think it below their quality to match with any thing but a gentleman ? and yet, when they have children will they suffer them to suck in the milk, which is no other than the half digested blood of a mechannick, nay, and that (as is generally the case) of the meanest of the mechannicks, for they generally seek for nurses among the farmers' and plowmen's wives on pretence of strong, healthy, and wholesome women. Nay, they often choose the poorest
of

of them, too, whose food is course and their drink hog wash and belch, not generous wines as the lady her self drinks. Nor are they aware, besides the absurdity of the thing, I say they are not aware of the just reproach they tacitly throw upon their own familye and even upon themselves ; *I mean the mother*, as if, when she had brought forth a child, perhaps in the prime and vigor of her youth and strength, her own milk was not as wholesome, as nourishing, and especially as natural to her child as the milk of a stranger, or that the plowman's wife gave better milk than *my Lady*.

Some of the suggestions which would naturally follow this practise are too course for me to throw upon the ladies, and I would say nothing that is shocking to them upon such an occasion. I wave that part therefore that respects health and constitution, and stick to those just arguments which Nature dictates from the ladies' own mouths, particularly that of mixtures of blood.

That the milk in a woman's breasts is a most noble fluid, of the finest digesture, strain'd thro' its proper vessells by the admirable operation of nature ; that it is nothing but the best concock'd aliment, and constituted in the same manner from the same principles as the blood it self, and so is a part of the blood. Its difference of colour is nothing, seeing we see the limbeckes of nature in the stomach and other vessells gives colour and takes away colour in all the digesting operations, and when in the milk dyet we drink nothing but white, the blood is nevertheless of the same crimson, and so of the rest. And not to enter into anatomicall descriptions, which to the ladies may on many accounts be indecent, it may be granted that, as the milk is in a true sence the blood of the nurse, so when taken in, it is mixt with the blood of, the child much more effectually than any other of the mixtures of generation, f. 28.
and

and this deserves their reflection who are so chary about mixing the blood of families, as they call it, by matching with inferiors.

In a word, 'tis evedent they very little consider, or very little understand, what they talk of, when they set such a value upon the preserving the race, as they call it, and taking care that their posterity should have none but the blood of a gentleman in the family ; when, to gratifye their own pride or pleasures, they expose the heir to drink in the blood of a slave or a drudge, the blood of a clown and a boor, the worst of mechanicks ; scorn to marry 'em among citizens and trades-men however personally accomplish'd, however furnish't with beauty, wit, modesty, breeding, and fortune, but let them suck in the life blood of a dary wench or a wooll comber, nay of a cook maid of the family marry'd perhaps to a carter or other slave, people but a few degrees above beggars : if the woman looks but wholesome and has a good full breast, a pair of dugs like a cow and a tollerable skin, 'tis all well ; she's deem'd wholesome, and all other scruples give way to the lady's nicety.

Nor do these ladies trouble themselves to enquire into the temper of the woman, little knowing perhaps, and less considering, that her son shall drink in the passions, the temper, nay indeed the very soul of the woman whose milk he sucks in, not to speak of her bodily infirmitys, which after all their enquiry and search may be lurking in her blood, hidden too far out of their reach to discern, nay, sometimes are hereditary, and the poor woman her self does not know them.

Here the young gentleman is ruin'd at once if the woman be a fiery, hot spirited, little passionate devil ; for the poor have their difference of tempers as well as the rich, the dary woman as well as the dutches. What follows ? The gentleman carries it away in his blood, and he's a fury by blood, by the blood of his nurse, as
certainly

certainly as he is a gentleman by the blood of his father ; and not to carry you too far into Nature's arcana and amuse you with speculations, 'tis certain, and physitions will tell you so and explain it, too, that a child's temper is more influenc'd by the milk he sucks in than by all the other conveyances of nature. We draw life from our progenitors by the order of nature, and 'tis true, too, that we inherit infirmity too much that way ; but we draw tempers and passions more from the milk we suck than from all the generating powers either in father or mother.

And this is a certain and unanswerable evidence that the suckling a child is absolutely making a mixture of the blood of the nurse with the blood of the child : nay, the finest, the best of the animall spirits and juices are deriv'd and receive their nourishment from this aliment, the milk ; and that is the reason that the temper, the dispositions, the passions, the affections, nay the crimes of the nurse are often convey'd this way. I might swell this work to an unreasonable bulk by giving you the severall little historys of this kind, even within the reach of memory, but 'tis needless : Nature tells it. If the nurse has been of a leud and loose disposition, the heir is ruin'd in his virtue, and¹ over-runs the country with his vices : if she is drunken, he inherits her unquenchable appetite ; if she is a termagant, he is a bully ; if a scold, he becomes talkative and a rattle ; if a liar, he seldom proves a man of sincerity ; if she's a hypocrite, he's very rarely a saint ; and what is still worse, he draws in all these in a little and narrow mechanick degree, like the contracted soul he deriv'd them from.

If there is such a thing as the blood of a gentleman that distinguishes men one from another ; that a true greatness of soul, a broad heart, noble and generous principles

¹ Instead of *and*, the MS. has the abbreviation for *the*.

principles, all flow in the veins from the pure fountain of an unmix'd race : what then are the ladyes doing
f. 29. who decline assisting nature when so well furnish'd on the father's side ? Why should they not add to the noble stream from their own well descended fountain, that the father's blood and the mother's milk may joyn to compleat the true born gentleman ? Whence is it that so many gentlemen descended from antient families, that can boast of a race of worthyes in their line, men of gallant principles, brave in the field, able in the council, here an eminent lawyer, there a judge, here a states-man, there a generall, here a patriot, there a divine : and the degenerate heir of all this fame an empty, weak, rattling fop, or a raving, outrageous bully, a swearing, drunken, debauch't wretch, and, in a word, all that's weak and wicked ?

Either the boast of birth and blood is all a cheat, and there is nothing at all in it, nothing convey'd from the noble spring by the channells of nature, which I cannot grant neither, tho' I do not so much tye down vertue to race and descent as some would have us do ; but I say, if there is any thing in the veins of a gentleman influenc'd from the blood of his ancestors, then there must have been some accidentall interruption in the conveyance, some hetrogenious mixture, some base alloy in the birth or in the nutriment of the sons of such heroes in this age.

Whence elce does that degeneracy proceed ? and how is it that we see the offspring of the sober, the grave, the learned, the good, ancestor degenerated into rakes, cowards, bullies, and mad men ? How comes the race of the states-men and politicians, the brightest men of genius and politest parts to deviate and dwindle away into empty blockheads and worthless fools, fluttering fops or empty headed beaus, who have nothing valuable about them, reserv nothing of their
 ancestors

anceftors but the name, to make us believ they are of the race? Where are the remains of the famous families of the *Veres*, the *Ceciles*, the *Ruffels*, the *Whartons*? Into what are they transform'd, and except the fame of their great anceftors, what have we left to boaft of in them? Their forefathers were the glory of the Englifh nation, and what their pofterity may be we kno' not; but how low is the noble channel ebb'd out!

Sure, fome of the prefent gentry we might name, never fuck't in the milk of the race, never were brought up with the breaft of thofe that bare them, but Romulus like, if that ftory be not a fibb, feem to have been fuckl'd by the wolf or fome other untam'd furious creature (beaft). How elce is it poffible, if birth and blood are concern'd in thefe things, and if any good qualities defcend in the line: I fay, how is it poffible fuch fons fhould be any way akin to fuch anceftors?

What a promifing line did the laft age fee rifing up for glory and great things from the antient blood of two families¹ in the north, known by their inheritances for ages beyond the reach of hiftory, nam'd from the lands they were born to, or the lands nam'd from the well approv'd poffeffors, not before the Conqueft onely, but even before the Romans, if we may believ the moft antient records! And where are the degenerated ifue? How funk even below fatyr into pity and contempt, and that not by the chance and changes of fortune and the world, but by meer degeneracy of the race, into all that was foolifh, wild, and wicked, and how are the antient patrimonyes, the inheritances of fo many ages fold and felling, divided and parcell'd out, as fate and purchafers prefent, paffing into new poffeffors, and the name of families no more to be remembr'd by the names of the lands, except it be to lament the fall of their fortunes and write an exit upon their graves!

Did

¹ MS. *family*.

f. 29 b. Did these men suck the milk of their mothers? or do they owe the degeneracy of their principles, the narrowness of their souls, their vitiated blood, and their naturall attachment to crime, to some vile coagulated nutriment drawn in with the milk of some tainted strumpet unhappily recommended to the lady for a nurse?

I cannot but think it worth the consideration of the ladies, if they have any regard to the families they are joyn'd to, and are at all concern'd with Solomon's wife woman, who builds up her house while the foolish woman pulls it down with her hands; I say, 'tis well worth their considering how they debauch the noble blood of a gentleman and corrupt their own race by mingling the blood of a slav and a scoundrel (as above) with the nourishment and life of their own progeny.

The ladies had much better, if they find it inconvenient to suckle their own children, for some can not do it, I say, they had much better have them fed by the spoon, or, as 'tis call'd, brought up by hand; then they are sure they have no corrupt, tainted particles mixt with their nourishment and convey'd from thence, and disperst thro' the vessells appointed for the purpose, into the nobler parts, mingl'd by the animal secretion with the vitals, and affecting not the temperament of the body onely, but the very passions of the soul.

I have nothing to do here with the reasons given by the ladies why they do not, or can not, or care not, to suckle their own children. This work is not design'd for a fatyr upon the sex, what ever room there is for it. But here is an alternativ offred, which they can never come off if Queen Ann's saying may be a maxim for them. The son of a king should suck none but a queen, the son of a gentleman should suck none but a lady; and if they will not come in to that part, then the alternativ I propose is in two parts thus:

(1.) Let them bring up their sons by hand, as abov.

Let

Let them take drye nurfes into the houle to tend and feed and bring up the young offspring, and let them be nourish'd by the spoon, as it is very eafie to do, and experience proves it to be fufficient, and confequently is the next beft to the mother's breaft ; or

(2.) If they will put them out to nurfes, let them lay down the fcruple about difhonouring their familyes and mixing the blood of a gentleman with a mechanick ; for if they value not the mixture in the child, there's no room to fcruple it in the man ; for he may call himfelf a gentleman as much as he will : while he has the blood of a paifant in his veins, 'tis all a cheat ; he is but a mongrell¹ breed begat by a gentleman, fuck'd by a mechanick, a scrub, a what you please ; for 'tis juft what they pick up among the poor.

And turn this a little upon the fex, too, another way : the ladies are fuppos'd to be as nice this way as the gentlemen, and in fome cafes they are nicer too ; they fcorn to difhonour their family and to marry below themfelves, and efpecially not to marry a tradesman, who they call a mechanick, let his employment be what it will.

But if they will be fure to marry a gentleman, they ought to enquire where he was nurf't, and whose milk he fuck't ; for fuppofe his father was a gentleman, if he fuck't a fow he will be of the hog kind as certainly as if he was one of the litter.

It will be an eternal fatyr upon the pride of our *f. 30.* gentry that at the fame time that they boast of their blood, their antient defcent, and that they abhor difhonouring their blood to match with the cannaille as they call it, yet at the fame time they will let their children be nurf't by the meaneft of the labouring poor, and fuck in the blood of the wretched and the miferable.

The inconfistency is not to be reconcil'd to their fences ; if the blood is once mix'd, 'tis mix'd for ever,
and

¹ MS. *mongell*.

and especially if mix'd in the childhood ; in the early nourishment it is disperst into every branch of the man ; the contaminacion is grown up with him, and, as above, it is more effectually mix't so than in the birth it self. To say a man has good blood in his veins, noble blood, and antient blood, and inherits generous principles from his ancestors, that he is a gentleman by blood, and such,¹ as is the common jargon of the times, and yet own he was suckl'd by a she-bear upon a mountain, as Jov they say was nurs't upon the top of Mount Ida in the Isle of Crete or Candia : we must first call the poor milk woman that nurs't him a gentlewoman, you must dub the gardner's wife or the coachman's wife, or the farmer's wife a lady, and call her a person of a good family, and then indeed it may be made out ; but elce I would recommend it to our gentry to throw open the fence, take down the pale, and seperate no more from the mobb, for they are but all of a breed, or at least all of a blood, and the good honest tradesman, whose virtuous, diligente wife takes due care of her family, and suckles and instructs her own children, and takes a personall care of their learning afterwards, preserves the breed and brings up better gentlemen than the best lady in the land (as I shall shew at large in its place) that puts out her children among slaves and beggars.

Nor will all the fine things that are or can be done for the young esquire or the young baronet afterwards, attone for this capitall mistake in the first part of their bringing up ; for, as the physitians say, an error in the first concoction is not rectified in the second. The degeneracy of the blood is found in the very first progression, the child sucks in the poison, if it be such, with almost its first breath, and the mechanick is blended with the gentleman in its first aliment ; and as they take root together, they grow up together. A plant
or

¹ MS. *suck stuff*, but *stuff* is struck out.

or flower taken out of a rich soil and remov'd into a poor soil, will be weak and degenerate and run single, influenced and stinted by the poverty of the second soil, partaking little of that which it was rais'd in; so take a plant rais'd in a poor or barren ground, and transplant it into a better and richer soil, it flourishes, shoots up, doubles and spreads to a wonder, influenc'd and nourisht by the strength of the ground without regarding the barren cold soil it came out of.

'Tis the same thing with the child. Take it from the mother, a gay, vigorous, sprightly, beautifull young lady, and put it to suck to a weak, decaying, or distemper'd woman; for those things call'd consumtiv malladyes are not always discernable in young married women; and what's the consequence of this? The child, however healthy, however prepar'd by Nature and the first soil for a strong, noble constitution, transplanted to the meaner poor nourishment of the weak soil, takes root in proporcion to the nourishment it receives, and becomes languid and consumtiv in the meer consequence of the distemper'd creature of whose blood it partakes.

It is the same thing in the case of the quality of the person, if the woman is a mechanick, suppose a *f. 31.* farmer's wife or a plowman's wife, for such we are fond of, forsooth, because they are what they call wholesome and sound. But what's that to the point in debate? She's not a gentlewoman, but a sorry, poor, unbred wretch, the blood of a cobbler or a tinker, no matter what, a branch of the noble mobbe of the true levell with the street, the meanest of the rabble.

This woman must give nourishment to the gentleman. This gentleman when grown up must scorn¹ to debase this woman's blood forsooth, which being mingl'd with his own is become noble and generous, and what not.

They

¹ MS. *scorn*.

They have but one plea to soften this and remove the scandal ; and 'tis a very poor one, and will confound all the rest of the argument ; and this is that they tell us the blood of the poor mechanick woman receives a new tincture, and is enobl'd and made generous by the blood of the gentleman which it is mix'd with ; that, as the tide from the sea flowing up a fine fresh water river, tho' at first push'd on by the wind or by the height of the sea, it rushes in with violence and carries its salt and brackish waters a good way, tainting the purer streams of the river for a while, yet it is at last conquer'd, its waters sweetn'd and made fresh, the salin particles being repul'd and driven back by the fresh stream that comes down upon it : so the base blood of the mean woman, tho' it may mix at first its courser alloy with the more pure and refin'd principle of life in the veins of the child, yet that it wears out with time, the vigour of his spirits overcomes it, and in a few yeares the child is restor'd to its first constitution, and is all gentle¹ again, as compleatly as he was the first hour he was born.

This is a fine speculation indeed, but has no foundation either in the fact or philosophy ; and the reason and nature of the thing is against it : for, first, 'tis begging the question in the most egregious manner possible ; the fact is not capable of evidence, much less of demonstration by any means whatsoever ; on the contrary, it is not so much as probable ; for, as I said before, the mixture being made in the beginning of the child's progression, the constitution is form'd upon that mixture, as the root and the natures grow up together ; nay, as in a graft the scyon and the stock grow together, and the scyon being fixt upon the stock, tho' the stock is the first in nature, the fruit is allways after the scyon which is grafted in, so here,
tho'

¹ MS. G.

tho' the gentleman is in the stock, yet, the mixture being in the blood, the engraftment takes place, and the fruit pertakes of both, but is denominated from the last.

But there is a misfortune in nature, too, which attends us all and which is stronger against this plea than all the rest, (viz.) that the evil part allways makes deeper impression than the good, and if the mixture of blood has any thing in it, the bad is rather most likely to prevail.

All this while I do not grant that there is really any degeneracy of blood in either the marriage or the suckling, except in case of distemper; and then I am sure, and insist upon it, that the danger is chiefly in the suckling part; but I take the argument as the gentlemen and as the ladies lay it down for us, and as they pretend it should be taken, whether it is so in fact or no, viz., that the blood of a gentleman is a mighty article in the family, and that to marry with a mechanick is a corruption of the blood, which dishonours the line and causes a degeneracy in the race; that the next generation or the issue of the marriage is not truly gentle¹ or truly noble, but a mixt breed, half gentle,¹ half scoundrel, like the mule among the horses, and ought not to rank with the gentry; as in the Old Institution, when God resolv'd to keep his people pure and unmix'd in blood, he forbid the children² of Moab or of Ammon the entering or being received into the congregation to the third generation.

Thus it is apparent there is a mixture; and to say the mixture is worn out by time is saying what can not be prov'd; and besides the affirmativ being unprov'd, I say the rational part is against it, because the plant took its root in the time of the first mixture, and every grain, every ounce of flesh that is grown up since, is grown up from

¹ MS. G.

² Abbreviation.

from the same mixt nutriment, which the root must yield : and no root can give any nutriment but what it self contains, so that once mixt and ever mixt, once corrupted and ever corrupted ; and there is no man in Nature can be call'd a gentleman born, in the true acceptation of the word, as those people would have it be taken, but such as never suckt in the milk of a mechanick.

That this is absolutely and literally true I believe will be granted ; if not, I would be very glad to see upon what solid foundation it can be contradicted ; how to remedye it, I mean for the future, for what is past can not be cur'd, but how for the future it may be remedyed, is for the ladies to consider of.

In the mean time, were it push'd home at our gentlemen, who value themselves so much upon their blood, the line of the families, and at the unmarried ladies, who rate themselves above the highest fortunes, who want the advantage of birth : I say, were it push'd home at either sex, they would be oblig'd to procure as good proof of who nurs'd them as who bore them, whose milk they suck'd, as whose race they came of, and to prove the quality, the blood, the high birth, of the lady nurse, the poor woman that suck'd them, as of the father that begot them.

I think I need say no more to the ladies upon this subject. But I can not quit it, till I have put the gentlemen a little upon the tenters about it, too ; for they are the principal parties concern'd.

That the gentlemen of England are at this time under a wretched scandal is most certain ; and the reproach lyes indeed not onely, or not so much, upon their moralls as upon their understandings ; even their genius and capacities are questioned. They are not so much told of their want of being learned, for that may be their instructor's fault, but of their being incapable of learning, of a rugged, untractable, undocible disposition,

disposition, when young, dull and impenetrable and not to be taught. Now this is to my purpose, for it almost naturally puts us upon enquiring into the reality of the extraccion; not whether they are really true born, and are the sons of gentlemen; that would be rude to the ladies, their mothers; but whether the blood of a gentleman has not been degenerated in their veins by vile mixtures since their birth; and how can that be but in the manner I have alleag'd, viz., by drinking in the gross, heavy, four particles of the plebeian blood in their first alyment, nourishing the plant with course, inflam'd, or corrupted juices, by which the very kind may be altred, the sprightly, aery, refin'd animal spirits, which naturally flow'd in the infant veins be loaded and opprest with thick, crude, clumsy, and heavy particles, which change the very motion as well as the constitution of the child, and make him a blockhead by the meer consequence of Nature.

It would be a happy discovery, could we come to be clear in the point, and would go a great way to convince me that the notion we have of a gentleman being strictly oblig'd to preserv the dignity of his birth and blood has something of reality in it, even in the highest and strictest sence; if it could be made appear that all the unmixt race, the pure true born families of gentlemen among us, who had preserv'd the blood entire, were men of honour, of sence, of learning and virtue, and that all the degenerate, vitious, debaucht lines, and all the empty, untaught, ignorant, good-for-nothing gentlemen were such whose blood was at first tainted with the impure mixtures of the rabble by sucking in the milk of those scoundrell, mean, despicable things, call'd nurfes.

It would be an unanfwerable plea for all the distinction and difference not onely that we do, but that we could, make, and it would be the care of all the good families

families in England to take the bringing up of their fons into their own hands, to prevent their going to the D—— in the meer consequence of their being nurf'd abroad.

On the other hand, all the generous minds, the vigorous fpirits, the bright exalted fouls, all the men of genius and wit, of bravery and of great thoughts, that have drunk in learning, as a fish drinks water, and have treasur'd up knowleg and princeples of virtue, as mifers do gold; who are born fhining and have improv'd a polite genius by a polite education: thefe to the honour of their ancestors would carry their testimonials in their very faces, that they were their genuine pofterity, true gentlemen of unmix'd race, of an untainted blood, heroic fons of hero ancestors, and that, what ever their fathers excell'd in that was good and comendable, they were prepar'd to imitate and would ftiv to excell.

But this is not to¹ be expected; and as it is not fo, it leaves us prepar'd to enquire from what purer fpring this glorious fream call'd the blood of a gentleman derives, and I doubt not but by a due fearch we fhall foon find it out; but of that by itfelf.

In the mean time, as the phyfician muft firft fearch into the difeas before he can prefcribe the remedy, fo we muft go a little farther in laying open this wound and making due enquiry into the fact; we fhall elce be told I have drefst up a man of ftrow to fight with, have form'd an imaginary figure to talk of, for the fake of the fatyr, expof'd a thing of nothing that is not to be found; and, in a word, the fact is not true any more than the reafon of it is rational.

I muft therefore, as above, eftablifh the premifes, or I can never expect to fupport the conclufion. The charge lyes, in a few words, thus:—

1. That our Englifh gentlemen, generally fpeaking,
are

¹ fo omitted in MS.

are not men of learning, men of heads, of genius and wit, whether naturall or acquir'd.

2. That the great defect lyes not in their families or in their blood, not in their intellect or capacities, but in the error of their education.

3. That, tho' wit and genius are the gifts of nature, *f. 33.* yet that for want of a liberal education even those shining parts may suffer a total eclipse.

4. That a love of pleasure being substituted early in the minds of children born to fortunes and estates extinguishes the love of learning, which might otherwise by early instruction have been kindled in the mind.

5. That an early love of pleasure is an invincible obstacle to a love of virtue as well as to a love of learning; and that as one makes them simple, so the other makes 'em wicked.

6. That folly as well as learning may be acquir'd, and men become fools by the help of education just as others learn to be wise.

7. That taking tutors to teach young gentlemen is not onely the ruine of their heads, but of their moralls also; and that as tutors are generally mannag'd or rather manage themselves, they are rather playfellows to the children than instructors. *Take*

8. That tutors, as the youth grow up, rather prompt their pleasures than their learning, and that they must do so or lose their places.

9. That all the mischiefs of a young gentleman's education are occasion'd by a neglect of the most early instructions: The principles of virtue, religion, and subjection to government are to be planted in the minds of children from the very first moments that they can be made capable of receiving them, that they may be sure to have the first possession of their minds, and may have some time to take root, before the taft
of

of pleasures and a loose to levity and folly can have access to supplant them.

Upon the foot of these principles both the grievance will be explain'd, the causes of it found out, the scandal of it expos'd, and the remedy for it be applyed.

The¹ gentlemen of England will have no room to be offended at this work; it is neither written to expose them or insult them, much less to wrong and abuse them. Either the thing is true, or it is not. If it is not, I should indeed be greatly injurious, and should merit the resentment not of the gentlemen onely, but of all mankind, as having rais'd a reproach upon my nativ country, and misrepresented the highest rank of the best men in it, wrote a satyr upon virtue, and made a complaint without a crime: in a word, I should be call'd a false accuser, and should merit the name, tho' it be one of the titles singular to the D——.

But I am not affraid of the censure, nor do I believe the gentlemen of England will be in the least displeas'd with either the design, or with the method. As to the case being true in fact, I am content to appeal to the gentlemen themselves; they are too much gentlemen to withstand it; and if the fact is true, the satyr is just; and the remedies propos'd I am sure are kind, so that I have truth, justice, and kindness in every part of the work.

Nor is there any occasion for me to make an exception for the great number of bright, accomplish'd, polite gentlemen that are among us; who are the glory
f. 33 b. of their country, and indeed keep up the very name of gentlemen among us; who are at this time the ornaments

¹ Here the MS. has the note, *Here a new Cap.*

ments of their country for learning, wit, science, and virtue, patterns of good breeding and of good manners.

Those gentlemen do not want to be told that they are excepted here ; they except themselves, as they distinguish themselves by their conduct, and as at this time they are distinguished by all the world for the most accomplished people in the Universe.

This still returns with an irresistible force of argument upon the rest, upon the untaught, unpolished, unimprov'd part which remain, and who being the mass or bulk of the gentry have the misfortune to be left behind, groveling in the dirt of ignorance, and learning no thing but to glut themselves in plenty, wallowing in wealth and in the grossest part of what they call pleasures, not capable of enjoying the sublime and exalted delight of an improv'd soul ; I say not capable, that is, they have no taste of them, because they do not understand them, no gust to books to read the actions of great men or to tread in the steps of glory and virtue.

The improv'd part of mankind have nothing left but to pity those unhappy gentlemen, who sit content and felicitate themselves in that which is the worst of misery, ignorance ; and who, could they look without themselves a little, would be surpris'd to think how unnaturally they were treated by their ancestors, who gave them money without riches, estates without treasure, and titles without heads, and who have no happiness left 'em with all their fortunes but the meer stupidity of being easie in the loss, willing to be fools, and, as we may say, not desiring to be otherwise, because they know¹ no better.

The world recognizes the wiser part of our gentry, they who by the felicity of their education have been early introduc'd into a love of virtue, learning, and all gentlemanly

¹ *know* is omitted in MS.

gentlemanly improvement. How is our nation at this time made illustrious thro' all Europe for some of the greatest men that ever the world produced, exquisite in science, compleat in the politest learning, bright in witts, wise in the Cabinet, brave in the field; no science, no comendable study, no experimentall knowlege, no humane attainment, but they excell in and in some go beyond all man kind, and are, I say, the glory not of England onely, but of the world!

I should be ignorant, as the men I talk of, if I should think these gentlemen ought to have been mencioned by way of exception; there's no need of it. These are the paterns for the other to be sham'd by; these are the standards that young gentlemen should be form'd¹ by and who they should striv to imitate.

These are the proofs given to the abus'd gentlemen I speak of, to prove that they might have² been like 'em, if it had not been for the fondness of mothers, the ignorance of fathers, the negligence of nurfes, and the treachery of tutors. These are the glorious examples which should, barring religious prohibicions, should make our gentlemen curse their no-educacion, reproach their unkind ancestors, and hang themselves, to be out of the scandal of it.

Their onely proteccion is their stupidity, as I have said above. They neither look in, or look out, or look up; if they look'd in, they would see what empty, what weak, what unform'd things they are; if they look'd out, that is, look'd round them, they would see how bright, how beautifull learning rendred other men,
 f. 34. and what they might have been, if they had had justice done them in their educacion; as to the last, their looking up, they that cannot look *in* can feldome look³ *up*: They that can not contemplate themselves can very ill contemplate their Maker; and as for
 looking

¹ MS. *form*. ² MS. *ha*, as often. ³ MS. *look look*.

looking round them, this they do indeed in there own confin'd manner ; they look into their parks and gardens, their lands and revenues, and see with joy the fund they have, to carry on their life of pleasure and sloth ; but they feldome or indeed never¹ can look round them enough to see how near a life they liv to that of a brute, in how different a manner such and such gentlemen live, how much more suitable to the life of a gentleman, as he is a man and a rational creature as well as a Christian, and that perhaps with a smaller estate ; nay, which is still worse, they do not looke upon the man of fence and wit, the man of learning and of parts, to imitate him, but to despise and contemn him, becaufe forfooth he is no gentleman, and in this fence they may be properly said not to look round them at all.

¹ *never* not in MS.



C A P. III.

Of the generall ignorance of the English gentry and the true causes of it in the manner of their introduction into life.¹

AFTER what has been said of the weakness and, what is worse, the ignorance that spreads, at this time, among our gentry, 'tis time to examine the fact and enquire into the truth of things; for it would be a terrible reproach upon this work, and would take off the edge and force of all the wholesom truths that are still behind, if, when all these reflections are made, the thing should not be so.

But I am far from being affraid of such a charge. I have too many vouchers at hand, too many witnesses to produce. What town, what county in England can we come into where these unfledg'd animals are not to be seen?

Ecce

¹ After the heading are the following lines, which are, however, accompanied by the remark, *This for another place*, and by a *deleatur* :—

*What deep concerne the anxious mothers show,
For fear the generous heir should learn to know,
Indulg'd in ease, in ignorance, and pride,
And many a sorry, silly thing beside,
Brought up to nothing at a vast expense,
And while they feed his honour starv his sense:
Thus for the park and mansion he's made fit,
And bred a fool in spite of mother-wit.*

Ecce Platonis homo !

Who bear the figure of the man are not to be distinguished by their persons, their shapes or faces, except that some times they are apt to go with their mouth open, an¹ unhappy signature placed by silent Nature to direct our guests, whence we have an old significant proverb *a gaping fool*, of which again in his order ; for I am not now upon the variety of the sorts of fools but their number, and indeed 'tis a little frightfull to engage, when a man is almost forrounded before the battle. But courage ! it must be done, we must fight *f. 35.* our way thro' ; the danger may indeed be something, but the difficulty is nothing.

{ It was a saying father'd upon King Charles II., tho' it was a little too harsh for him, who had a world of witt and not one grain of ill nature, that *if there were not both fools and knaves return'd*, (I suppose there might be an election in hand at the time) *the nation could not be truly represented.* }

As to the knavery among our gentlemen in England, I will not flatter them there may be some long heads among them too ; but I'll do them the justice at the same time as to say I believ the short heads have infinitely the majority, especially among the elder brothers.

I have heard of holding estates in England by antient tenures, old antiquated customes, and services ; some are held by the sword, such as service in the field, knight's service, and esquire : but I never found a manor held in England by the weight of the brain. We are told that in some of the islands of the Archipelague they had some very odd customes, as at Zia or Zea, that if any man presum'd to cumber² the place above 80 year he should be voted an invader of his heirs

¹ MS. *an an.*

² MS. *cucumber*, corrected from another word.

heirs, and they should bury him, whether he was pleased to dye or no, because, as there was but just provisions enough in the island for the ordinary inhabitants, it was unreasonable that they should devour it who were of no manner of use to the public.

In another island, nameless for divers good reasons, they tell us it was a custome that, when any man of fortune dyed, his estates were to be divided among his children not according to the primogeniture, but according to the quality or degree of their learning and understanding, of which the Senate of the country were judges, and they had infallible rules to determine it by. Some hold lands indeed by strength of hand, and some by strength of face ; but 'tis the knaves onely that hold by strength of wit. I doubt indeed 'twould be a mellancholly article among us heirs, if want of brains should be made a want of title to our estates, and men were to share the land in proporcion to their understanding.

But as things now stand, it seems to be the reverse in our country, especially if, as a certain author pretends, Nature has made the division with equity and upon weighty considerations.

*Elder and younger share the goods of fate,
This all the brains inherits, that th' estate.*

Happy Constitution ! glorious England ! where the inheritance descends in tayl, and the head has no share in the claim ; where fools enjoy their just privileges and an eldest son enjoys the land by birthright, be the heir a baronette, the justice of peace, the member of, ay, and any thing elce that Nature has furnish't him with a title to, or with money to purchase. Nor can his want of sence be pleaded in bar of his succession, provided he is but one degree above being beg'd, etc.

As

As fools, then, are not out of rank, so neither are they out of fashion, and there is some convenience in that, too, especially where the number is so considerable; for now a man, let his head be as weak as you will, may come into company, sit upon the bench and at the board, take a commission, be chosen mayor, alderman, common council man, as well as severall other representing advances, and not be oblig'd to blush and hold his tongue.

Nay, if nature has been deficient in other cases, and his tongue should be a little too big for his mouth, so that he should be addicted to speech-making some times, and that in public, too, he may yet come off tollerably well, because the men of more wit have generally good nature enough to bear it and say nothing, and 'tis ten to one but the majority may understand it as little as himself.

There are, doubtless, some advantages to the empty gentlemen from their numbers, and theyr being so much in fashion is none of the least of them. How often when they tell noses do the fools out-poll their neighbours! how often fall in with parties and run down all by their numbers! Those are the gentlemen who in former dayes were call'd the DEAD WEIGHT in a certain House. The reason was plain when the party kings¹ were equally divided. Who ever got the f s on their side were sure to carry the question; and this made the ministry in those days (for I speak now of things 40 year ago) get a roll of these folks under pay, and thence we deriv'd the name and perhaps the use, too, of a Pension Parliament.² But those things are out of doores now; and tho' the fools, I doubt, are not lessen'd in number now, yet they may be honest, perhaps, than they were then, or, what is still better, these are honest *f. 36.* times; and tho' bribery may be out of fashion tho' the
f s

¹ *Party* · *K* in MS.

² *P* in MS.

f s¹ are not: Heavens grant that may be the true state of the case. AMEN.

But to come back to the thing in dispute as it lyes before us, the propoficion is plain *that our English gentlemen are not men of learning*. I had some thoughts of entring upon the proof of it, but I am happily prevented by the generallity² of the thing, and the honesty of the partys; for really the gentlemen confesse it themselves. Some indeed are asham'd, and would fain conceal it; but they are the smallest number. Some again ingenuously own it, and tell you honestly they don't pretend to learning; they were not bred to books they say, and have no notion of them: so they don't mind them. They liv as they are, that is to say, not like men of learning, but like gentlemen. They enjoy their estates and their pleasures, and envy nobody. If they had been well taught, they should have been glad of it now; and 'twas none of their fault; but that's past and it can't be help'd; they must be content, they have a good estate and no great need of it; and so 'tis well enough.

Those are indeed the best of the race, and are a testimony that the ignorance of the gentlemen lyes indeed in their education, not in naturall deficiencies; and that they are fools, not for want of capacity of being taught, but for want of teaching.

But we have another sort or two to speak of, and they indeed are among the incorrigibles of nature. Nothing is to be done with them. These are *either*

(1) those that in spite of ignorance and unsufferable dullness are opinion wise. It would take up a little volume to give a full description of this kind; it must be confessed they seem to be a species by themselves; that their intellectualls are form'd in a differing mould

¹ F in MS.

² Or it might be *generallities*.

mould from the rest of mankind. They speak and act upon a seperate foot, and walk in a seperate track ; they neither do well or say well, and yet will have it that all they either do or say is best ; they are a modern sort of Ishmaelites, for they laugh at all the world and all the world laughs at them ; they think all the world fools to them, and all the world thinks them fools of the grossest kind. As to their knowlege, whether natural or acquir'd, 'tis in their own opinion so every way compleat, and their heads so well furnish'd, that they cannot believ a word of their want of better instruccion, but think they kno' every thing and kno' it, too, better than their neighbours. Nor are they ever satisfi'd,¹ if you don't chime in with them and acknowlege all they say ; and to compleat their impertinence they are noisy with their nonsense, maintain the grossest absurdities, oppose the plainest evedence, dispute principles, and argue even against demonstracion. Generally speaking, they carry a stock of ill nature about them and a want of temper, if not a want of good manners. Nothing pleases them ; they contradict every body, rail at every body, giv characters of every body, and, in a word, tyre every body. Nothing is more frequent with them then to pass their judgement upon the learning as well as wit of others, tho' they have so very little of their own ; nay, tho' they read no books, but perhaps the *title page* and the *finis* of some few, yet borrowing scraps from other men they pass their censure in the gross, and damn the worke, as we say, unsight unseen. Indeed, as they pass their censure in the gross, so, if you will pardon me a pun, 'tis generally a gross censure; ignorant, weak, coarse, and perhaps rude, too ; for such men very seldom abound in manners. Or, (2) we have another sort, and these come home to you with argument. They don't (like the other people) deny the charge

¹ Abbreviation.

charge and believ themselves to be men of learning, reading, and travell, and the like, and put their nonfence upon you for wit ; but, on the contrary, they own the fact, but denye the deficiency : they grant they have no learning, but they say it ought to be so ; they ought to be bred up just as they were ; that 'tis a mistake ; 'tis not ignorance in them not to understand languages any more than 'tis that they can't make a watch or a clock or a pair of shoes ; that schollars and men of books are handicrafts and mecchannicks made to work for gentlemen, as joyners and carpenters are, and books are to them nothing but their tools, their compasses and hammers, their planes and augurs to exercise their art with ; that these things are below a gentleman ; that he has no business with them : that if any man askt his son what school he went to, what books he was in, and how he went on in his studies, he shall answer : " School, Sir ? I don't go to school.

f. 37. My father scorns to put me to school. Sure I an't to be a trades-man ; I am to be a gentleman : I an't to go to school."

Then he runs on with a common place of rally against learning and learned men after the manner of the elder brother mencion'd before ; how useles and how ridiculous it is to trouble a gentleman with science and books ; that Nature had form'd them for other things ; that they were born for enjoyment, singl'd out to form a degree of men above the ordinary rank ; that learning and improvements were for the inferior world, to recomend them to employment and business that they might get their bread ; that gentlemen were above all these things and above the people that were masters of them ; that men of books are the drudges and servants of the gentry, and when ever they had occasion for them, they could have them for their money, as princes entertain interpreters and therefore
never

never learn languages themselves ; that those were made to serv for wages, and the gentlemen¹ are those that hire them and pay them ; that 'tis ridiculous to put the gentlemen upon reading and learning languages ; they have other employment and are born to better things. Besides, they tell you it would be injurious to the Common Wealth and take the bread out of the mouths of the younger brothers ; that learning and languages were manufactures² and employ'd the poor (schollars), and it would be very hard to take the employment from them which they get their bread by ; that schollars like fiddlers are to be hir'd to make music to the gentry ; that these are to pipe, and the other are to dance, because they pay the piper ; that gentlemen are no more to trouble them selves with books than with the bag pipes ; that would be to starv the poor schollars and bring them as a charge upon the parish.

Those two classes of gentlemen are, indeed, the exalted heroes of ignorance and sloth, who this discours is chiefly pointed at ; and those are the gentlemen I mean also when I say their number is so great that, if they came to tell noses, they would out-pol their neighbours. I confes the last out-do the former, too, because they have a kind of a harden'd eloquence in their way of talking, which confirms them in their folly the more they talk of it, and shows that, like men bred up in any particular error or opinion of religion, who afterwards maturely cleav to those errors, they are not onely hereticks by the prejudice of education, but have formally recogniz'd that education by a mature, deliberate profession, making that which was before their necessity³ be their choice.

This way of talking in the matter of education, like atheisms in religion, is not to be supported without a
vast

¹ MS. G. ² *M* with a stroke over it. ³ Abbreviation.

vaſt ſtock of affurance ; I had almoſt given it a harder word, but that, as I am talking of gentlemen, I would treat them as ſuch. This is certain, it can not be carry'd on without ſome face, as men talk firſt atheiſtically, then, working up their paſſions to a hight, run it on to down-right blaſphemy. I do not doubt but that ſometimes they are ſenſible of, and feel with regret, the deficiency of their own educacion ; but learning gradually to be contented with it, and to accept of the eaſe and pleaſure of their fortunes as diverſions inſtead of it, come at laſt to approv as by choice what they are plung'd into by neceſſity, having learn'd by habit and by length of time to applaud what was the crime and neglect of their parents, as a wiſe part acted in their introduccion into the world ; inſiſting upon it as what was beſt for them ; decrying all improvements and blaſpheming ſcience as atheiſts do religion ; declaring themſelves ignorant by meer open ſuffrage and conſent ; deſpiſing knowlege like Solomon's fool, of whom among many other charecters to kno' him by I think this is the moſt pointed and elegant, as well as concife, that *they hate knowlege*, by which I can not doubt but that the wiſe man meant that *none but fools* do ſo.

I can not repreſent the unhappynefs of theſe uneducated gentlemen more to their diſſadvantage than in the conſequence we ſee it has in their own families, among their ſervants and tennants, and even among their children.

I had occaſion but a very few yeares ago to be pretty much in the family of a gentleman who I had long had an intimacy with ; he was himſelf a man that knew the world, had been bred much abroad in Germany, France, and Italy, and had a great ſtock of converſacion-knowlege, tho' no learning. He was of the firſt rank, as I may call it, for eſtate and antient
blood

blood, and, tho' not enobl'd, might claim an undisputed title to that of gentleman. He had but one son, the heir and hopes of his family; and his being the onely son was one of his reasons, why he would not part with him abroad when he came to grow up; but his other reason, which he kept much to himself, and which was the true reason, indeed, was that he thought his son by his mother's tendernefs had been bred too soft and easie, too much swallow'd up in his pleasures, so that he was not to be so much trusted with himself, and that, as he said afterwards, he was senceible it would be his entire ruine to send him abroad. Also his having been bred up without learning he lay'd to the charge of his mother, as above. It was true, he did not seem to think that any great loss to his son, and would often say he would have no need of it; that a little learning was enough for a gentleman that had an estate above the need of raising himself higher, and that reading and book knowlege did but serv to form vast designs in men's heads, send them up to Court, embark them in f. 38. politicks, embroil them with partyes, and by placing them at the head of factions in the State, involv them in frequent mischiefs, and some times bring them to ruine and distruction; that, he said, he had rather follow him to the grave early, and build an hospitall with his estate, than break his heart for him 20 or 30 years later, when he should hear of his coming to a scaffold; that without ambition he would be a safe man, and might be as happy as this world could make any body; that all the learning in the world could not add to it, but that no man was too high to fall, and the higher the more dangerous; that he had 12000 pound a year clear estate to leav him, and some money, and his three sisters provided for, so that he had neither mother's joynture or sisters' portions to pay out of it; that if he had a mind to liv gay and spend the whole income,

income, yet if he did not sell nor mortgage, he thought it was enough, and that he had no occasion to encrease; but that if he should prove a good mannager, and had a mind to grow over-rich, he might live in a figure equall to a nobleman, and yet lay up 5000 pound a year, with which he might encrease his estate to almost what degree he pleas'd; but if he had ten times as much he might be no richer than before and, perhaps, not half so happy.

I confess the argument about his way of living was just and well enough: A gentleman of such an estate can't propose much to himself in this world which such an estate could not help him to, and nothing can be suppos'd to spend more than such an income without a crime, I mean without a criminal profusion; but of that by itself.

Nor is there any great difference in the article of humane felicity, between his spending half of it or all of it: 'Tis very certain that, barring ambition, such an estate was enough to bound any moderate man's desires, and whatsoever prompted his ambition must be dangerous to him, as his father well observ'd.

(The late ever glorious King William us'd frequently to say that, if he was not a king, and Providence¹ had mercifully plac'd his station of life in his choice, he would be an English gentleman of two thousand pounds a year.

His Majesty gave many very good reasons for the narrow compass of his desires, and one which I thought was very significant was this: that it was the station of life that gave the least room for disquiet and uneasyness in the world, and the greatest opportunity of calm and content; that there were² very few comforts among man-kind which such an estate could not give, and that to have more rather encumb'd a gentleman with servants
and

¹ *D* with a dot in the middle. ² *were* is omitted in MS.

and buſſineſs to look after them,) than gave any addition to his enjoyment, unleſs a man could ſit ſtill and ſee himſelf cheated by his ſtewards and upper ſervants, and ſuffer all manner of diſorders in his under ſervants with-out any concern at one or diſlike of the other ; which he thought no man of ſence could be capable of.

As the thoughts His Majeſty had upon that ſubject were very nice, ſo, no doubt, they were groundd upon the beſt principles and were ſuitable to the trueſt notions of humane delight, I mean virtuous pleaſures, enjoyment without criminal excuſions ; and ſo the King often expreſſ't himſelf, adding there was no pleaſure at all in ſtoring up mellancholly reproaches and refleccions for old age.

It will be hard for any man to chalk out a way, how and in what particular figure of life a gentleman could live up to ſuch an eſtate and ſpend £12000 a year without being guilty of ſome criminal excuſions, that is, exceſſes in himſelf, or allowing, and conniving at, them in his family and among his retinue, unleſs he will employ his whole time in ſetting up a mean and unfashionable diſcipline in his houſehold, and, like a Vice Chancellor in the University, eſtabliſh his regulations for their manners and houres, and even then, as he has no legal authority to puniſh, he can do no more than diſmiſs the refractory, ungovernable fellows and take others as bad in their room. f. 39.

In a word, as His Majeſty ſaid in the caſe before mencion'd, a gentleman of ſuch an eſtate has a weight of buſſineſs upon him equall to a tradeſman in his ſhop or a merchant in his compting houſe. 'Tis a full employment to him to audit his accoimpts, to be checqing his ſteward's books, bargaining with his tenants, holding his courts, granting leaſes, and hearing cauſes between tennant and tennant and between ſervant and ſervant, ſo that it was a drudgery too
much

much for a gentleman, would make him allways uneasy, and, in his opinion, overballanc't the benefit of the estate it self.

As I have quoted so extraordinary a person for this opinion, so I must add that the King made this judgment not from ignorance of the world or want of knowing how to liv in a superior figure, but just the contrary ; for as he was born a prince fully quallified for the government of nacions, so he was perfectly accomplish'd in all the needfull parts of governing his household, which was allwayes great, and he spoke this not from an empty speculacion, but from a long experience in the manner of living publick and the state and pomp of a great household.

He saw that with a little compact estate of £2000 a year he had his time unengross't, his head unencumbr'd ; he needed no steward, no reciever ; he could look over it all himself with pleasure, and had onely to desire it might be let out in large farms to as few tennants as possible, five or six was enough, such farmers being generally men of substance, that pay their rents without any trouble ; whereas with a larger estate a gentleman is allways engag'd with the wrangling of tennants, their complaints of the stewards, or by their knavery or poverty is oblig'd to be allways ruining and tearing them to peices for his rent, so that he is neither well us'd by them or belov'd by them.

Now, tho' the living criminally profuse was a thing not unworthy the consideration of a King, yet I do not see it makes any impression among our gentlemen, especially since 'tis of late so much the fashion. Every gentleman seems to be willing to liv as gay as he can, and we see the sad consequence of it among them at this time, namely that most of our gentry in England with their ignorance and their other defects of head are also in but very indifferent condicion as to family circumstances

cumstances,¹ and many even of the greatest estates are overwhelm'd in debt, which it must be confess't seems to be some reproach upon their understanding, as well as upon their prudence, and intimates that their purses are empty because their heads are so; for it would hardly be thought possible that men's pockets should be light, if their brains were not light also, when they have perhaps from £500 to two, nay to four, ten, and even to £20,000 a year reall estate. But of this I shall find occasion to talk farther by it self, when I come to the extraordinary mannagement of our gentry in the oeconomy of their familys and fortunes, which, as reason requires, must supply us with a chapter by it self.

But I come back to the gentleman as describ'd above. He is suppos'd to be heir to a great estate, no less than £10 to £12000 a year, and this is given for a reason why he should not be well taught; he must not go to school; no, his father scorns to put him to school, because he is, or rather is to be, a gentleman. Preposterous reasoning! as if the man were really better ignorant and unpolish'd, than beautify'd and set off with the embellishments and improvements of learning and knowlege; as if the diamond was more valuable while it was rough and unpolish'd, as it came out of the mine, than after the diamond cutter had by his art brought it to a good shape, a true brilliant, taken out all its flaws and scarrs, and that you see a perfect water; as if the silver of Potosi was better in the oar than in the ingot, and that gold were equall in the river among the ouse and the sands, than cleans'd and wash't out.

Let such people run a little paralell between the heir and his estate, and let them learn to see the absurdity of this ill form'd notion there. How carefull are the gentlemen of their parks, their woods, their lands, that their wafts be enclos'd, the timber preserv'd,
their

¹ Abbreviated.

their farms well tenanted, the tennants bound up to rules of husbandry, to lay the plough'd lands fallow at due times, to preserv the pastures and break them up with the plow, and, in a word, to practise good husbandry for improving the estate, to commit no wast, make no trespasss, keep up the fences, and clear the ditches and water-courses, keep the farm-houses in due repair : how carefull, I say, are our gentry in all these things.

° In a word, nothing is forgotten to improv the estate,
f. 40. nothing entirely neglected but the heir, as if his estate was to be improv'd, but not his head, and his land was to be duly cultivated, but not his brains. Did the wit descend, indeed, with the wealth, and the heir come to his learning, as he came to his lands, by inheritance, there were then, 'tis true, some thing to be said for this folly. Then learning and books would be of no use to the eldest son till such and such a time. Then, indeed, instruction and education would be out of the question, and we should have no objection against letting the heir play away his prime and go a hunting instead of going to school. On the other hand, it would be an absurdity to do otherwise.

But since it happens to be otherwise, and that the heir must be taught, or he can not learn ; that knowlege does not grow upon the trees, or wisdom follow and attend the inheritance ; since science does not descend with the honour, and learning like an estate is not entail'd on the heirs male ; 'tis evident that young gentlemen must acquire knowlege, or go without it.

It is true, there is such a thing as a natural genius, there is a mother wit, a vivacity of spirit, that in some particular persons is born with them ; that they are stored before-hand, made bright at the first, and, as 'tis said of some that they are born poets, so some are born with great souls, vast capacities, and a fund of nature, as it may be call'd, is given them even by original
 donation ;

donation ; and much of this is boasted of in those ordinary expressions of being born a gentleman, having good blood in the veins and having deriv'd generous principles from the line, that he came of such a family and of such a blood, and that the young offspring must be all that is great and fine, because he is of the family of such a great man, in a word, because he is a gentleman ; as if Rhehoboam was one jot the less a fool for being the son of a Solomon, or the fitter to reign because his father was a king : the contrary was apparent. He neither had the prudence of the King, nor the sense of an ordinary man, for nothing that had had an ounce of brains in his head would have given such an answer as he did to the people, who came to pray him to abate their burthens or redress their grievances ; any thing but a fool would have treated them gently, and given them good words, at least at first, till he had been acknowleg'd for king and had been well seated in the throne ; and then he might have turn'd tyrant or anything, as 'tis plain his father had done before him. As it was then, so it is still : We see that brains do not allways descend, no, not to the greatest ; sense and understanding is no appennage to the prince, nor is wisdom entail'd upon the crown. A king may laye his claim to the government of his kingdom by hereditary right from his ancestors ; he may have his crown that way : but he must have his governing qualifications by other methods, namely by application, by instruction, by example, and by experience.

It is the same with us all. The gentleman may have his estate from his ancestors, nay, the beauty of his body may in part descend from his parents, and the health of constitution may owe much to birth and blood, and, if we may believe the learned, it is not a little advantage to be born of a healthy, vigorous race ;
but

but the brains are the matter in question, and there we see generation very little concern'd in the case; the wife man begets the fool, and the fool gives a wife man to the world. Nature seems to have very little concern in the intellectuall part, that seems guided by some other influence; nor is it any reproach to our understanding to say we know not how or by what secret operation 'tis wrought; how comes a fool to convey strong capacities, and an empty weak head deliver a full capable genius to the world; of which also hereafter.

But to give up this point, I am content to allow that, as some men are born dull and that 'tis ordinarily said of such a man he is *a natural fool*, so, on the other hand, some are born bright, have a sprightly wit, a great genius, a capacious soul, deep reach and clear thoughts even from their birth, I won't say from their parents; for some times 'tis so when the father, nay, perhaps all the fathers from severall generations past have been fools.

But what is all this to the thing before us? In a great wood if a fine well grown oak presents it self to the eye, we say there is a fine tree; that's true, and Nature obtains the praise so far. But when it comes to use, it must be cut down, the bark stript off, the knotty limbs taken away, the sawyers cut it out into plank, the carpenter squares it with his rule, *f. 41.* and then 'tis smooth'd with the plain, groov'd with one tool, carv'd with another, and then 'tis fitt to be set up against the wall, and wainscott the Hall of Audience, or the Presence Chamber of a prince, or the State Room of a palace. But till all these pains are bestow'd upon it, it is onely potentially good and usefull; 'tis not naturally finish'd and perfect: it must be shap'd and squar'd as art requires. It is also to my purpose to observe, carrying on the metaphor, that even the most crooked,

crooked, out of shape tree in the whole wood is capable by the help of the same art to be brought to the same perfection in its degree, and onely with this difference, that the crooked stick requires more workmanship, more hewing and cutting, makes more chips, and suffers more wast, before 'tis brought to take place among the ornaments of the pallace, whereas the strait, well shap'd tree is finish'd with less trouble, less difficulty, less workmanship and art. In a word, the strait tree is wrought with less pains than the crooked, but both require some. Thus the bright genius, the naturall beauty of the mind, the parts, the witt, the capacities given by Nature to one youth, cause him to be polish'd and cultivated with more ease, and he is finish'd with fewer hands in less time and with much less difficulty than another crooked, knotty, stubborn disposition, which being naturally dul and awkward requires much more hewing and shapeing and dressing.

But still, as above, both these require some: the brightest must be polish'd and smoothed; some labour, some application is requir'd in the brightest genius, and this is what I am pleading for. If we see a youth among the poor people of good natural parts, quick thought, strong memory, sharp wit, as it often happens, we are generally apt to say 'tis pity the boy should not be put to school, 'tis pity he should not be well taught; and some times such a youth has been pick'd up and taught in meer charity by some man of learning and estate who has so pityed his circumstances; and some great men, who I could name if it were proper, have been rais'd in the world from such beginnings.

But still this bright genius must be made brighter by art. What are the quick parts, the naturall wit, the strong memory, the great capacities? what are they, and what are they given for? 'Tis evedent they are given for some uses, which they are not wholly fitted

fitted for but by the applicacion of other suitable helps. They are receptible of all the glorious things which science, learning, and acquir'd knowlege can furnish, but they are perfectly unquallify'd to act alone. A deaf child has the capacity of speech and all the wit and vivacity of soul, and, perhaps, a thousand times more than another child born of the same parents; but of what use are they all, when for want of speech, which is learning, for it can not be attain'd without hearing and imitation, it can take in no ideas, knows nothing by its name, understands not the nature of the things it knows, much less their end, can form no consequences, knows no sound, and, in a word, half the world is, as it were, of no use to him, and half his naturall powers are useles, because unimprov'd.

I observe that we often mistake in this very case about young gentlemen, and call their naturall capacities learning; at least we think them equivalent to learning, and that such stand in need of no assistance, but that time and conversation will be sufficient, and they are men of parts, of course, having also good estates to supply the main deficiency.

But these people mistake not the fact only, but the true design of Nature, and even of the Author of Nature. It is apparent that treasure of wit and parts is given from Heaven to be cultivated and improv'd; and as God set Adam to till the ground after the fall, and told him, if he did not do it, ay, and labour and sweat at it, too, he should have no bread, and it should bring forth nothing but briars and thorns to him without tillage and cultivation: so it is in his brains and understanding to this day, if he will know he must learn.

f. 42.

I will not dispute with those who affirm that, if Adam had not fallen, his posterity would have been compleat, not only in their parts and capacities of knowing, but in knowlege it self; that as he was
created

created in a perfeccion of wifdome, fo his pofterity would have come into the world finifh'd as he did, and as we fee the brutes do to this day, that their naturall fagacity, caution for fafety, care for their food, and knowlege in diftinguifhing it, grows up with them. But as to man, it is evedent, what ever it was before the fall, it is not fo now ; what ever brightnefs of parts, what ever genius, wit, and capacity the man is naturally furnifh'd with, it is requir'd that thofe jewells fhould be polifhed, that learning be apply'd to them, that rules and inftuccions be layd before them, and that hiftorys and examples of times and perfons be recommended to them, and that all this be enforc'd by the authority of inftstructors, parents, fchoolmafters, etc.

And what will all the natural capafcities of a child amount to without teaching? What ufe will nature direct him to make of them? None of the beft you may venture to fay ; for tho' nature is the beft fund, yet the dictates of nature are not the beft guides. The learned may talk of the rectitude of Nature and of natural religion in bar of the principle which others infift upon, that nature is originally deprav'd : I am for putting it to the generall iffue, if they can tell me by any one example when nature of its meer undirected inclination guided mankind to make the beft choice of things, and rejecting the pleafing objects of fence led him to choofe vertue by a meer propenfity of will without infttruction or example ; then I may come into the notion of natural rectitude with fome appearance of reafon.

But while, on the contrary, I fee nature acting the reverfe of all this, and that men are in their youth hurry'd down the ftream of their worft affections by the meer infenfible impetuofity of nature : I fay while it is¹ thus, and that not generally onely, but univerfally,

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¹ *is* omitted in MS.

I can not but conclude that there is something of originall depravity in nature more than those gentlemen think of.

And what does all this import (to bring it down to my present purpose) but that Nature is not able to accomplish the gentleman without the help of outward application? Nature works by its Maker's direction, and can not go beyond it self. Nature will sometimes go out of its way, as I may call it, and work without its ordinary means, and, when it does so, it produces monsters; but Nature can not act beyond its given powers; for example, Nature forms the organs of speech, but 'tis evident Nature teaches no body to speak, and if a child is not taught it would never speak at all, and therefore we see in children taught to speak they yet speak no more languages than they are taught, and if they are desirous to speak other tongues they must apply to it with labour and diligence, strength of memory, books and masters, or go over into the countrys where those tongues are spoke, and learn them there by mimicry and imitation, as children learn to speak; for all first speaking is mimicry and no other.

It is the same in science and every kind of knowledge in its degree. Nature would be but a poor instructor in art, in philosophy, in the mathematicks, without the helps of teaching and instruction. How far could Nature go to teach a poor uninstructed head the doctrine of the spheres, the motion of the planets and of all the heavenly bodies? How long is it ago since the Muscovites gather'd about a Scots gentleman's lodging who had some knowledge of astronomy, at Moscow, and would have mobb'd him and torn him to pieces for a forcerer for telling them before-hand that such a day at such an hour and minute the sun would be eclips'd, how much it would be darken'd, and how long it would

would hold? 'Tis not many years since, for the gentleman is still alive.

f. 43.

The meer knowlege attain'd by uninstructed nature is a poor dark lanthorn light, that glares in the sight of those that look at it, rather blinds them than helps them to see, and is onely usefull to those that stand behind it.

And this is the reason why we have so much ignorance among all the bright men of this age, that some of our gentlemen who have the cleanest parts, the purest naturall wit, and the best capacities that are to be seen any where, are yet the most ignorant dark creatures in this part of the world. The case carries its evidence in it self. They are untaught: where should they raise it? Nature is a fund of sense, but instruction onely is the fund of knowledge.

I can not but observe here a kind of an alternative in the evidence of the thing before me. One side of the question answers the other, and they are a demonstration of one another. The ignorance and weakness of our gentlemen are a testimony of the deficiency of nature unpolish'd by instruction; and the weakness and incapacity of nature to supply the want of literature and instruction, is a reason of the ignorance and weakness of the gentry.¹ They are without doubt men of as good naturall capacities and furnish'd with as much mother wit; at least many of them, and as many of them in proportion to their number as in any nation in the world; and where they are well taught they are equal, if not out-do, most men in the world, as is evident by the excellency of their studies and the perfection some have come to in the most critical parts of learning, of which I have said some thing all-ready; and yet where is there so little

¹ G.

little improvement, where so much blunder and non-fence, where so much pride and self opinion, as among these men *of Nature*, these people call'd gentlemen, who are said to lay claim to¹ bright genius and to be polite finish'd persons?

If a man was to travell thro' Poland, a country famous over Europe for the most numerous body of gentlemen: no nacion comes up to them for great families and for a like number of them, and tho' there are some ill quallities or rather sins of custome which attend them, which 'tis forreign to my buisness to speak of here, yet 'tis certain they don't fail here, viz., that they are all schollars, all bred at the severall Universities either of their own or neighbouring countryes, and tho' they do not speak fashionably, as we do, that is, do not speak French (for they despise it), yet they all speak Latin, and a man that can talk Latin may travel from one end of Poland to another as familiarly as if he was born in the country.

Bless us! what would a gentleman do that was to travel thro' our country, and could speak nothing but Latin. One would be asham'd to say to him that he would find no body to converse with but here and there a parson and a pædagogues; nay, he would find it very difficult to ask for any thing he wanted and for finding the road from one place to another. I must lament his condition; for if he was once lost, one could hardly conceive how he would do to enquire his way, especially if the town or city to which he was going had a proper name which was some thing different in its sound in the Latin from its vulgar tone in the English; for example, suppose him in the Forrest of Dean and travelling towards Worcester, what would a country gentleman say to him that he² was to meet and he should ask the way *ad civitatem Wigornensis* (!), or in the

¹ *to* is omitted in MS.

² *he* is omitted in MS.

the biſhoprick of Durham, *ad civitatem Dunhelmenſis* (!), or *Novum Caſtrum*, to Newcaſtle, and the like of many other places? The poor ſtranger would be in great danger of being loſt, as for his food, indeed, ſome ſignals might be ſubſtituted in ſtead of ſpeech, as pointing to the mouth, and the mocion of drinking, and eſpecially producing the money to pay for it; but for the reſt we muſt ſay, Mercy upon him! 'Twould be a bold venture for him to travel without an interpreter; he might almoſt as well ſpeak Arabick or Sclavonian or the Ruſs or Chineſe as Latin, which is underſtood by a few happy younger brothers, who have been bred up upon another foundation, that is to ſay, *f. 44* to get their bread, and came to the eſtates by the miſfortune of the family and the untimely death of the heir.

That this is the caſe, and that I do the gentry¹ no wrong, as I am dealing with men of honour, I ſhall not go out of my way for vouchers; I appeal to themſelves. They will not offer to deny the fact, nay, 'tis the greateſt favour I can aſk of them not to boaſt of it, value themſelves upon it, and flye out in the moſt contemptible ſarcaſms upon the ſcandalous thing call'd reading and bookiſhneſs as unfashionable, ungentile, and below a gentleman.

I have indeed been oblig'd in diſcourſe with ſome gentlemen of my unlearned friends to giv up that queſtion and grant the great article inſiſted on, viz., that to be a ſchollar is out of the way in the life of a gentleman, that learning is for the meaner people, who are to get their bread by it, and the like, as before. But then I allwayes held them faſt to this, that if they would not learn Latin and Greek, and would not put their children to ſchools or to the Univerſities, or have them taught languages, yet methinks they might teach them Engliſh; they might allow it needful to teach

¹ G.

teach them to read and write, and particularly to spell, that, they might not be aſham'd to answer a letter, nay, to write but the ſuperſcription of a letter, which is ſometimes done in ſo weak, not to ſay filly, a manner as almoſt tells us what we are to expect in the inſide by what we ſee on the outſide.

It is with much difficulty, indeed, that I could bring them to this, and it is with as much regret that I muſt take notice here how few gentlemen in England are maſters even of the Engliſh tongue it ſelf. Horrid ignorance! yet to our ſhame how notorious is it! how many juſtices of the peace have we almoſt in every county that know not how to make a mittimus or write a warrant, nay, that can hardly write their names to the warrant or mittimus when their clark has drawn it up.

This article ſuffers ſo much enquiry into it, and caryes ſo much juſt ſcandal in that enquiry, that, were I not forced to it in the courſe of neceſſary obſervation, I would cover it in ſilence for the ſake of my nativ country.

And yet I do not lay the ſtreſs of this complaint ſo much upon the writing part, tho' 'tis a ſcandalous thing enough to ſee gentlemen of fortunes and families, and who value themſelves upon their birth, quallity, and eſtates, that can hardly write their own names, at leaſt that can't write legibly, ſuppoſe they had a letter to write upon the moſt extraordinary occaſion.

(But the great ſatyr of it is that, when they do write, and ſuppoſing they could write a tolerable hand, they can neither write ſtile nor Engliſh; in a word, they can't ſpell their mother tongue.) It would ſurfeit a man to read the Engliſh that ſome gentlemen write, and that not the weak and fooliſh; for of them no other would be expected; but ſome who make a good appearance in company, talk well enough, and ſeem to
be

be men of understanding. (How dull did it look for a gentleman of fence and of tollerable good discourse, too, upon an accidental diffaster in his family but the other day, to write to his friend that there was a *mollin-kolli* *accidence* *be* *happen'd* in his house ; it seems one of his servants had drown'd himself.) ✓

A gentleman from Tunbridge writes a letter to his steward in Hartford-shire in the following extraordinary English, which with the most comicall scrawl of a hand that can well be imagin'd might giv us some test of the skill in writing as well as the orthography of a justice of peace and a gentleman of £1200 a year estate, bred, too, within thirty miles of the capital city.

f. 45.

Here the letter.¹

Another from the Bath writes a letter to the major domo of his family, who was left behind to take care of his household affaires.

Here the other.¹

N.B. I can so well vouch the fact of these two letters, and that they are genuine, not the product of my invention, that I have the originals to produce upon occasion.

I might giv innumerable instances of the like weaknesses in gentlemen of extraordinary quality in our own country, at the same time acknowleging that I have not met with the like abroad. I can assure you that the gentlemen of other countryes seem to be otherwise educated ; and even to go no farther than the northern part of our own island, it is quite otherwise, and you find very few of the gentry, and I may say, none at all of the higher rank of them, either ignorant or unlearn'd ; nay, you cannot ordinarily find a servant in Scotland but he can read and write.

When

¹ No letters are preserved.

When I was mentioning this to an English gentleman of the untaught class, and making a comparison between the English gentry and those of Scotland, of Holland, and of Germany, he laugh'd and told me it was because they were all poor and universally had the advance of their fortunes in view, which the English gentry¹ had not; that this confirm'd what he had said and what I but just now mentioned, (*viz.*) if he had been a younger brother his father would have sent him to school, and that he did so himself with his younger sons, because they had their fortunes to make; that he intended to buy his second son a regiment of horse (if it could be had) and to recommend him to His Majesty's favour for the first foreign service, and he did not doubt, if war happen'd in the world, but he might see him be a generall officer and, perhaps, lay the foundation of a collateral branch in his house, adding that then his eldest son would have no more need of books than his grandfather had.

Then he told me that he had sent his third son to the University already, and was resolv'd to breed him to the Law, and by the same rule hop'd to see him made a judge; so that I might see he did not so much undervalue learning as such; he allow'd it to be mighty usefull where there was a family to be rais'd and fortunes to be made, but as for his eldest son he could not see of what use it would be to him, because, as he had said above, that it was doing just nothing, that it would be throwing away his pleafantest yeares mauling and beating his brains to learn what had no signification to him when he had it. I thought it was something natural to answer that the sword is no friend to the gown, that the armys were generally no seminaries for learning, nor were the Universities understood to be nurseries for soldiers; that ignorance and arms seem'd
rather

¹ G.

rather to be of kin to one another than the book and the sword, and that his second son had much less need of a stock of letters than his eldest. I askt him why diamonds were set in silver and some times in gold but to set off the lustre and add to the beauty, and that, doubtless, learning to a man of quality and fortune was an admirable embellishment, as virtue was set off by beauty, and beauty illustrated by virtue.

He answer'd me I mistook the case, as well as the simily; that perfect virtue or perfect beauty were incapable of additions; that the error was in our eyesight; like hanging paintings over fine tapestry, it was eclipsing one ornament to let another shine; that a great estate was a perfect glory, it could recieve no addition, and wanted no helps to the enjoyment of it; that all those things I talk'd of were to be bought with money, and he that had the money had them all in his pocket; that, as to learning, it was no more an ornament to a gentleman than musick, in which, after the longest labring at it that a gentleman could be suppos'd to allow, a common fiddler or an ordinary trumpeter should out do him; that 'twas enough to him to hear good music without setting up to be an artist, that is to say, a mechanick; that Nero was an admirable singer, and that the late Emperor Leopold of Germany play'd excellently well upon the violin, and that all the addition he got to his titles was that the great Louis XIV. it seems us'd to call him the Old Fiddler of Vienna; and "Pray," sayes he, "which is worst of the two? d'ye think I had not as liev my eldest son should be call'd a fool as a fiddler?"

He run on thus a great while, and I saw there was no dealing with him by argument as to that of learning, for the aversion was riveted; so I engag'd him upon the head of writing and of spelling and understanding English; and I ask'd him if he did not think
it

it was a shamefull thing to see an English gentleman of the highest rank, and that might upon public occasions be society for the King or the Prince, and yet upon any necessity, let it be of what kind it would, was not able to write a letter, much less write either a good stile or good fence, no, not in his mother tongue, and, what was still worse, was not capable of spelling the words in any manner fit to be seen or possible to be read.

This, indeed, pinch't him a little; he confess't that was too often the case with gentlemen, and was too much his own, and was almost ready to give it up to me; but then he call'd to mind what he said he had heard his grand-father say, who serv'd abroad in the wars in Germany under Gustavus Adolphus, that there were three Scots generalls, all of the name of Lesly, in the king's army, whose names were famous, nay, even terrible, at that time over the whole world for bravery and conduct, and rais'd themselves by their extraordinary skill in military affairs as well as their courage and experience; yet not one of the three could either read or write; but that they had a particular stamp, which, dipt in ink, would mark the whole name at one impress, as a seal does a coat of arms in wax, and that
f. 45 b. with this stamp they sign'd orders, warrants, capitulations, and all public acts needfull for a governor of a province or a general officer.

This was strange I confess'd, and might, perhaps, be true, tho' I suppos'd he could not be sure of it; but when I ask'd whether he thought the story was any addition to their fame or rather the contrary, he smil'd, and said he own'd it made their preferment to such great employment be the more strange, and that he could not recommend the pattern; but then he added that this was nothing to the case, and that, as he had granted that the youngest sons onely should go into the war, so he thought it was very proper they should be
 well

well taught, becaufe, as before, they were to gain their bread and raife their fortunes. As to learning Latin and Greek, he would not allow a word of that; there he was positiv, yet he could not denye but a gentleman fhould be taught to write and read and fhould be able, if poffible, to fpell, that is, as 'tis ordinarily call'd, to write good Englifh; but he acknowleg'd alfo that he did not fee how the latter was to be done without hooking him in for Latin and Greek too, which he faid was intolerable; fo I found upon the whole that rather than to be troubl'd with any learning of tongues he would submit to have even his mother tongue left out alfo, and that the heir fhould neither be able to underftand good Englifh, or to fpell it, much lefs to write it.

Thus, as I faid before, the gentlemen of this nation are drag'd up; I can't call it bred up. They are left utterly untaught and fo far from understanding the ordinary fchool languages of Greek and Latin, that they are not able to write or fpell true Englifh. How they fhould fpeak it, remains to be enquir'd into.

As in all languages there is a beauty of ftile, a cadence and harmony in the expreffion, fo in the Englifh much more than any other vulgar fpeech in the world. The late Earle of Rofcommon, the moft exact writer and the beft judge of polite language in his time,¹ confirms my opinion, and I need no better a teftimoniall. Speaking of the French, which was boasted of at that time as a polite and beautifull language, he fayes:

*For who did ever in French authors fee
The comprehenſiv Englifh energie?
The weighty bullion of one ſterling line
Drawn to French wire would thro' whole pages ſhine.²*

Allowing

¹ MS. *tine*.

² *ſhine* not in MS.

Allowing then our language to be beautifull, strong, expreffiv, and polite, as it certainly is above all the vulgar tongues, what fhall we fay to the grofs ignorance of our gentlemen, who flight not the language, for that is abov the contempt not of them onely but of all the world, but flight themselves fo as not to be able to either fpeak, write, read, or fpell the beautifullest and beft improv'd language in the world, and that with this miserable addition that at the same time they can fpeak no other neither, no, nor write or read any other?

I think I may, without any prefumcion, challenge the world to fhew a stupidity equall to this; and yet these perfons boast of their birth, their fortune, their families, then call themselves gentlemen, and learn to contemn all the world as inferiour and below them.

I can fee nothing like it in all the converfible world. I will talk no more of Ruffia and the Muscovites. I do not, indeed, reckon them among the converfible world, at least not till very lately; but their being fo unconverfible is all owing to this very kind of pride, namely, an affected pride of ignorance and valuing themselves upon the groffest stupidity and fo refolvedly brutal as to abhor learning and contemn the improvement of all the rest of the world.

f. 46. After infisting on this particular testimony of the obftinate ignorance of our untaught gentry, it would be no novelty to give a thousand examples of the weakneses, the impertinences, and odd things that come from them as the consequence of this ignorance and the effect of their great want of education. Sir A. B. is a gentleman of a great estate and of a mighty antient family, belov'd in the country where he lives to an extravagance. Every body, man, woman, and child, gives him a good word: the best humour'd, best bred gentleman in the world, fo kind, fo courteous, fo charitable,

charitable, the best neighbour, the best landlord, the best master. All the country pray for him, nay, they almost pray *to* him ; they are ready to worship and adore him. They tell you he does every body good and never did any wrong to poor or rich.

A few yeares ago, he built a noble mansion house for the family, enclos'd his park with a brick wall, enlarg'd his gardens and canals and fishponds ; nay, he spent a world of money more than he intended, meerly that he might set the poor at work, it being the dead time.

At Christmasts, if he is oblig'd to be at Court or at the Parliament or both, he never fails to make a trip into the country on purpose to call all his poor neighbours and tennants together to make their hearts glad with his open house-keeping, and to see them all merry according to antient custome and the usage of his ancestors.

'Twould fill a book to publish all the good things the country say of this gentleman, and which he really deserves from them. It happened once upon finishing his fine house and being just settling its furniture that he carryed another gentleman, a particular friend of his, to see it. This other gentleman was a man of letters, had liv'd abroad, seen abundance of the fine pallaces in France, in Italy, in Germany and other places, but acknowleg'd that all was admirably well here, and even out-did the forreigners, especially for our manner of building in England, where neat compact boxes are the usage of the country, not vast pallaces to be finish'd in appartments by the heirs for fiv or six generacions to come and as the estate will allow the charge.

He assur'd him his house out-did many larger pallaces that he had seen, that the situacion was well chosen, the waterworks well serv'd, the appartments well
suited

fuited and with the uttmoſt convenience ; that the viſtas and the avenues were proper and well planted, the gardens well deſign'd ; that every thing was perfectly well finiſh'd, and, in a word, that it was a charming houſe and a feat fitt for a man of his quallity.

Then he admir'd the furniture, which was rich, new, and very well fitted : but "Sir," ſayes he, "will you giv me leav to make an objeccion or two ?" The gentleman told him, with all his heart. "And will you not take it ill ?" ſayes his friend.

"So far from that," ſayes the gentleman, "that I ſhall take it very well ; 'tis the kindeſt thing you can do."

"I kno'," ſayes his friend, "ſome gentlemen are not pleaſ'd with that freedom."

"I aſſure you, Sir," ſayes Sir A. B., "I am the reverſe of that humour, and you can not oblige me more. Pray be ſo free with me."

"Why, Sir," ſayes his friend, "you want ſome good paintings ; pictures are a noble ornament to a houſe. Nothing can ſet it off more."

"Why, you ſee my great ſtaircaſe is tollerably full," ſayes he, "and I have ſome more a-coming down for the hall."

Friend : "I don't find any defect in the quantity," ſayes the friend.

Gentleman : "What then ? pray, are they not good peices ? Why, they are all originals and ſome by the beſt maſters which they ſay are to be heard of."

f. 47. Friend : "I would not meddle with it ; 'tis none of my buſſineſs."

Gentleman : "Nay, pray, be free with me ; you may do me a ſervice."

Friend : "Let me put the previous queſtion then, as they ſay in the Houſe : Did you buy them your ſelf ?"

Gentleman :

Gentleman : " Why truly, 'tis an important question ; to tell you the truth, I did not."

Friend : " I thought so indeed."

Gentleman : " Nay, if I had, it might have been worse ; for I do not understand them at all. I love a good story in a picture and a battle or a sea peace (!) ; but as for the performance, the painting, I have no notion of it ; any body may impose upon me."

Friend : " And I doubt you have been imposed upon, then."

Gentleman : " I hope not, for I trusted a very good friend."

Friend : " Ay, he might be a friend ; but had he a good judgement himself?"

Gentleman : " He is mighty curious that way, I assure you, and says no man can deceive him."

Friend : " Nay, they must have deceived him, if they sold him those pieces for originals ; or it must be worse."

Gentleman : " I understand you I believe ; but I have an entire confidence in my friend ; he would not impose upon me himself."

Friend : " Nay, he must have imposed upon you one way or other."

Gentleman : " How do you mean ? I don't understand you now."

Friend : " Why, if he has not imposed on you in the price, he has imposed on you by telling you he had a good judgment ; for it is apparent either he has abused you, or has been greatly abused himself. I hope they cost you but little."

Gentleman : " You surprise me, I assure you ; they cost me a great deal of money."

Friend : " I am sure you surprise me ; for there is not three pieces of them that deserve the name of pictures, or that are fit to be seen in such a house as this."

Gentleman :

Gentleman: "Well you do me a service, indeed; for I had given him order to buy a great many more at an auction that is to begin in a very few dayes."

Friend: "But, perhaps, he may do better for you. Pray, don't let me hinder any body."

Gentleman: "Not hinder any body cheating me? Say no more of that; I find I am cheated enough already. Why he has had £300 of me, and now may call for as much more; for I have not stinted him."

Friend: "What's £300 to you!"

Gentleman: "Nay, hold there! tho' £300 won't hurt me much, yet I hate to be cheated. I had rather give £500 away to an honest man than be cheated of one."

Friend: "I confesse I should not like to be imposed upon."

Gentleman: "A man not onely loses his money, but is taken for a fool, too, by the very man that cheats him. Now, I am fool enough in many things, but I hate to be thought a fool, and loose my money, too. I'll send him a letter immediately, if the post is not gone, to prevent his buying any more." [*He calls a servant who comes in immediately.*¹] "Here, Watley."

Gentleman: "Go, call the steward hither, bid him come this moment."

Servant: "Yes, Sir." [*His servant goes out, and he calls him back.*]

Gentleman: "Hold, Watley, come hither. Is the post gon by?"

Servant: "I believ not, Sir. 'Tis not his time by an hour, and I think he has not call'd, I did not hear him." [*Note: The post boy going allways by his door blow'd his horn as he came near, and then call'd at the gate to kno' if they had any letters.*]

Gentleman: "Well, call the steward then."

Servant:

¹ MS. *imedately*.

Servant : "Yes, Sir." [*He calls the steward, who comes in immediately.*]

Gentleman : "Here M^r , go and write a letter to M^r W . . . immediately, and forbid him buying me any more pictures till farther orders."

Steward : "Shall I write it in my own name as by your order, or will your worship please to sign it?"

Gentleman : "I'll sign it. Write it in my name positiv, but do it immediately before the post is gone."

Steward : "Yes, Sir. I'll bring it presently."

[*The steward goes out.*]

Friend : "Had you not better write it your self? He may perhaps think you are the more in earnest."

Gentleman : "If I set my hand to it that's as well. Besides, I write letters? No, no, you mistake me very much."

Friend : "I beg your pardon, Sir; indeed, I should have known better. What need you trouble yourself!"

Gentleman : "If that were all, I should not think so much of the trouble. But you mistake the case I tell you. I can't write; I don't write a letter once a year, nor wou'd not do it once in seven years, if I cou'd help it." f. 48.

Friend : "How can you live? Why, you can't correspond with your friends."

Gentleman : "That's true, and I don't correspond with 'em for that reason, or but very little."

Friend : "Then you lose the greatest pleasure of life!"

Gentleman : "It is so, indeed; but I can't help it."

Friend : "I wonder such an activ, brisk, spirited gentleman as you are can be so. Why, 'tis nothing but meer indolence."

Gentleman : "Hush! Never mention it any more. I am ashamed to hear it, but 'tis no indolence I assure you. I never was a lazy fellow in my life."

Friend :

Friend: "What can it be then? You write a good fair hand."

Gentleman: "I write indifferently. I can set my name, and that's enough for a gentleman." . .

Friend: "I think I have seen letters from you."

Gentleman: "I don't kno'; if you have, it has been but very feldome."

Friend: "I kno' you country gentlemen don't love any trouble. You kno' nothing but pleasure in the world."

Gentleman: "You should say you kno' that we country gentlemen are good for nothing and bred to nothing but to be meer country bl s."

Friend: "No, not so; the gentlemen are not always schollars, but then they have less need of learning; for they have good estates, and so have the less need of it."

Gentleman: "I differ from you in that part extremely. I think we have the more need of it, because we have the greater opportunities to improv it and make use of it."

Friend: "You are rich, and the estate makes up the loss to a vast advantage."

Gentleman: "Yes, we are rich and f s. There's a rare ballance.¹ Heaven is righteous not to give his blessings in unequall shares, as I read lately an unlucky verse or two made upon two fool gentlemen in this country, much such a one as I am:

*Wise Providence to poise the town thought fit,
Gave them estates, but bated it in wit."*

Friend: "You are too keen upon your self. 'Tis none of your character, I am sure, what ever it may be of your neighbours."

Gentleman: "You are very kind to judge the best;
but

¹ MS. *ball*^a.

but you don't remember that my father, according to the laudable practise of the time, divided his bounty between his two sons, gave my brother Jack the brains, and me the estate."

Friend: "I don't understand you."

Gentleman: "You are not so dull, onely you are so mannerly, you can't speak plain. I tell you he bred Jack to be a schollar and a man of fence, sent him to Winchester School and from thence to Oxford, and now he is as bright a fellow as most in the country; he's fit for the Court or the State or the camp or any thing; and for me, he left me to be brought up to nothing, that is say, to be a gentleman."

Friend: "A gentleman, well; and can you be better? Han't you a vast estate? An't you rich?"

Gentleman: "Yes, I am rich! Did you ever read *f. 49.* the Bible?"

Friend: "The Bible? Why, what does that say to the case?"

Gentleman: "Why, it tells you that the rich glutton went to the D——. I wonder where the rich fools must go."

Friend: "You are pleas'd to be merry, but you are too keen upon your self."

Gentleman: "Merry with my own diffasters! the more of a fool still; but hold, here's the letter come."

[The steward brings the letter, and he reads it, but does not like some part of it, and made him add or alter something in it; then gave him directions for the super-scription, and setting his hand to the letter sent him out again.]

Friend: "Why, now, Sir, in my opinion you have had almost as much trouble about this little note, for it is not above threeer (*sic*) or four lines, as if you had written it yourself."

Gentleman: "So I have, and I would not have put
I my

my self to all that trouble, if I could have done it my self."

Friend: "It is all a mystry to me. I don't understand it."

Gentleman: "Why, then I'll explain the mighty difficulty to you. The plain truth is I can't spell; I can't write true English."

Friend: "I'm answer'd. That's a defect I confesse."

Gentleman: "And such a defect as I am asham'd of, but I can't help it; 'twas no fault of mine."

Friend: "But, Sir, 'tis so generall a defect, too, that it need not afflict you; for where is there one gentleman in ten that can write good¹ English?"

Gentleman: "That may be; but not one in ten of them that write bad English, write it so bad as I do; but I take care no body shall know it."

Friend: "But you must write some letters, and one will discover it as well as one thousand."

Gentleman: "But I have a way for that too; for if I am oblig'd to write a letter I dictate the substance, and then make the steward write it, who, as you see, writes very fine and spells well too; so, when he is gone and thinks his letter is sent away, I go into his room, and coppye it over carefully, and send it away, as if it were my own, and so I learn to spell."

Friend: "That's very troublesome to you."

Gentleman: "It is so; but what can I do?"

Friend: "Do? why, I'd write, let it be how it will; 'tis what many gentlemen do as well as you, and 'tis reckon'd no disgrace to them."

Gentleman: "No, I can't do that. I kno' so much of the defect, and how scandalous it is; I can't do it. I would not write a letter to brother Jack for £500."

Friend: "You have mannag'd well, to conceal it from your own brother all this while."

Gentleman:

¹ In MS. a shorthand abbreviation.

Gentleman : " I have taken an effectuall way, for I never write to him at all."

Friend : " I can not think but with a little practise, observation, reading, and remembring, you would get over that difficulty."

Gentleman : " No, never ! Besides, I have no memory for such things."

Friend : " Engaging your mind a little would bring the memory. Any body may learn to spell by frequent reading and writing, observing how words are spelt, and remembring it."

Gentleman : " Then I shall never learn to spell I'm sure ; for I hate reading. But besides if I could write true English, still I should write no letters."

Friend : " That must be all meer indolence ; it can be nothing else."

Gentleman : " O you are quite mistaken. Still there's another reason worse than all that"

Friend : " I am left to guesses, indeed, but I see nothing to guess from ; it must be that you would not take the pains : it can not be that you would not converse with your friends."

Gentleman : " No, indeed, 'tis neither of them, much less the latter ; for I should love to converse with my friends by letters extremely."

Friend : " I think 'tis one of the great pleasures of life."

Gentleman : " I think so too, and I envy the pleasure of it to others, because I can not enjoy it my self."

Friend : " I do not understand you. I don't doubt your friends write to you sometimes. You can not but write again."

Gentleman : " They did write to me formerly, but they don't now. I have tyr'd them out with not answering them."

Friend :

Friend : "'Tis all owing to the life of pleasure you liv ; you are too volatile. I kno' severall gentlemen are juſt the ſame, tho' they can ſpell well enough, too ; but they hate to write : they can't ſit ſtill long enough."

Gentleman : "Well, but that is not my caſe ; but ſince you will have my dark ſide, you muſt ; and to tell you the truth, I have another defect worſe than want of ſpelling : I don't underſtand things ; I write no ſtile, I han't words. I am aſham'd to tell you what nonſence I write."

Friend : "You may have a meaner opinion of yourſelf than you ſhould have. You are too modeſt ; you can not want words when you kno' the ſubſtance of what you would ſay."

Gentleman : "I tell you I can't expreſs things ; I kno' what I mean ; but is it not poſſible to underſtand myſelf, tho' I can't expreſs it in proper language ?"

Friend : "Yes, I allow that if you were to write to
f. 50. great perſons or upon publick affairs and things of great importance ; but in ordinary converſation any thing will do. Familiar friends are wrote to in a familiar ſtile."

Gentleman : "Look you, I ought allways to write like my ſelf, that is, like what I ſhould be, not what I am. In ſhort, who ever I write to I ſhould not write like a fool."

Friend : "You can't write like a fool."

Gentleman : "I muſt write like what I am, and therefore I don't write at all."

Friend : "If you write like what you are, you muſt write like a gentleman."

Gentleman : "Yes, like an untaught, ignorant gentleman, that, as I told you, has been bred to nothing but idleneſs and pleaſure ; is not that to be a f . . . ?"

Friend : "Well, Sir, you may ſay what you pleaſe of
your

your self ; but the world does not take you for what you are pleas'd to call your self. Every body knows you to be a man of fence."

Gentleman : " That is to say I am no idiot, not a drivler ; but I kno' my weak part, tho' I conceal it as artfully as I can ; but I tell you I am an ignorant, untaught, uneducated thing ; and that I call a fool in a gentleman, tho' I may not be what you call a meer natural fool."

Friend : " The very fence of your defficiency is a token of a vast capacity ; how elce should you see it ? Reall fools always think them selves wise enough."

Gentleman : " You take some pains to have me think my self less a fool than I am ; but that does not reach my case. Let me have what genius or what naturall capacities I will, I have the misery of seeing myself a fool, thus far namely, that I have been taught nothing. You see I can't spell my own mother tongue. My father——"

Friend : " I believ, indeed, it lyes all there. Your father did not do his part : 'twas no fault of yours."

Gentleman : " My father did as other gentlemen do. He took care to leav his son a good estate, and that he thought was enough for a gentleman : my grandfather did the same by him, and my great¹-grand-father the like, so that we have been a generation of——"

Friend : " Dear Sir, hold ! let the dead be as the dead should be, I mean, forgotten ; they have done noble things for you other wayes. £3000 a year ! is not that enough to make up all and to stop the mouth of all complaint ?"

Gentleman : " No, it is not. What is an estate when the heir is a blockhead ? A full purse with an empty head ; much money, no brains. I would freely now part my estate into two, and giv half of it to my brother
Jack

¹ MS. *gr.*

Jack to have half his learning and fence and knowlege of things in the room of it."

Friend: "I doubt not but he would come into it, if it were practicable."

Gentleman: "No, indeed, you wrong him there too. He values his educacion I assure you. His learning is not so ill bestow'd on him; he would not be a fool for all my estate."

Friend: "But, Sir, you that have such a fence of the defect of your education and of the want of learning, might in my opinion retriev it very much, at least so much as to supply the more ordinary uses of it in writing and conversacion; you are not an old man!"

Gentleman: "Which way? How is it possible? Tho' I am not an old man, I am too old to go to school."

Friend: "There are wayes to recover some part of what has been lost with-out going to school, and this puts me in mind of another thing that I thought was
f. 51. wanting in your new house, and¹ which, indeed, was what I meant when I said at first there was some thing wanting."

Gentleman: "What was that, pray? a chappel? I know you are so devout. You would have God's house and the mansion house be all but one roof."

Friend: "It may be so; but you mistake me. I know the parish church is but just at your elbow. I think you have a door out of your garden into the church yard."

Gentleman: "Nay, I have a door out of my very house into it. They won't have farr to carry me to my last lodging with my ancestors. But you say you did not mean a chapell; pray, what was it then?"

Friend: "Why, it is a room for your library."

Gentleman:

¹ MS. an.

Gentleman: "O dear, my library! now you banter me to some purpose."

Friend: "Indeed, I did not design it so, and I hope you will not take it that way; but as it is what all gentlemen that ever I convers't with have, I did not doubt but you would have the same."

Gentleman: "Yes, my library deserves a room on purpose. I think I'll show it you by and by. Why, I have no books. What should I do with them?"

(*Friend*: "But your father Sir¹ Anthony had a library, I don't doubt.")

Gentleman: "Yes, I'll give you a catalogue of them. There was a great Bible, the register of the house, where all the nativities and the burials of the family were recorded for about a hundred years pass't, with three mass books; for my grandfather was a Roman Catholic; and not to leave out the most valuable things: there was the old ballad of Chevy Chase set to very good music, with Robin Hood and some more of the antient heroes of that kind; an² old base viol, two fiddles, and a music book; there was also four or five folio Common Prayer Books, which used to lie in our great seat in the church, which I took away and put new ones in their room, and the old Book of Martyrs lies in the church still." ✓

Friend: "But I hope you have added to the stock since."

Gentleman: "Not I! What should I do with books? I never read any. There's a heap of old journals and news letters, a bushell or two, I believe; those we have every week for the parson and I to talk over a little, while the doctor smokes his pipe.")

Friend: "O but, Sir, no gentleman is without a library. 'Tis more in fashion now than ever it was."

Gentleman: "I hate any thing that looks like a cheat upon

¹ MS. *fa Sr.*

² *a* in MS.

upon the world. What ever I am, I can't be a hypocrite. What should I do with books that never read half an hour in a year I tell you?"

Friend: "But, Sir, if a gentleman or any relation comes to your house to stay any time with you, 'tis an entertainment for them, and a gentleman should not be without it, indeed; besides 'tis a handsome ornament."

Gentleman: "Why, if any of my friends come to see me, I entertain them with a good table and a bottle of good champaign; and for their diversion I show them some sport. We have allways some thing or other in season in the field, either hunting or shooting, or setting or fishing. We never want game of one sort or other, and if they are men of books and talk learnedly, that's out of my way; and I say to 'em, 'Come let's go visit the vicar;' so away we go to the parsonage, and the Doctor has a good library, and, what is better than all his books, keeps a cup of good liquor, as he calls it, for second rate drinking, and if we think of wine I send home for the butler, and he supplies, so that the parson has the credit of it."

Friend: "That's very kind to the Doctor, indeed."

Gentleman: "I should not be a true patron if I starv'd the incumbent."

Friend: "This is a good way I confess to divert your friends, but yet a gentleman of your figure should not be without a library. Besides you may have sons to bring up. I fancy you will not be for bringing them up without learning, you have so much sence of the
f. 51 b. want of it yourself."

Gentleman: "No, indeed, I have but one boy yet tho' I may have more: but if I have twenty I'll make them all schollars if I can."

Friend: "You are very much in the right of it. The estate will not become them the less."

Gentleman: "I am resolv'd in that. I'll be the last
dunce

dunce of the race. We have had ignorant heires enough already."

Friend: "Well, Sir, than 'tis but buying a parcell of books a few yeares before-hand; for your son will understand them, and delight in them too, perhaps, tho' you don't; and he may never kno', it may be, that his father did not neither."

Gentleman: "You are in the right there, indeed; well I am resolv'd to get some books when I go up to London. I think I'll lay out the money in books that I intended to lay out in pictures; for tho' I understand neither of them, I can't be cheated so much in the books as I have been in the other."

Friend: "No, no. The price of books is generally pretty well known. Any bookseller will direct you in what will suit¹ your library."

The gentleman and his friend had more discourse of this kind and of other things remote from my purpose, which I therefore omit; but the jest of all this is still behind.

Some time after this visit the gentleman being in London and going thro' St Paul Church Yard, he was put in mind of his former design for a library by the severall bookfellers' shops which he saw there; so he walks gravely quite thro', looking earnestly into every shop, but went into none of them. Passing into Ludgate Street he remembr'd that he had seen severall of the same trade in Pater Noster Row; so he turns up Ave Maria Lane, and comes to Pater Noster Row. The first shop on his left hand was the famous Mr. Bateman's, a shop well known for old and scarce books of learning and antiquity and in most languages; but looking into the shop and finding the books were generally old and dusty and lay in heaps on the counters and on the floore, out of all order, he did not

¹ I.e., *suit*.

not like them by any means ; so walks on and thro' the Row, and comes into the Church Yard again at the east end of it, next to Cheap-side.

At length seeing a large shop and well stor'd with books, he stopp'd and look'd earnestly at them ; and a grave, sober-look'd, gentleman-like bookseller being in the shop, he invited him in with the usuall compliment, "Will you please to walk in, Sir, and see if I have any thing you have occasion for ?" The gentleman goes and sits down, takes up a book or two, and look'd on them ; but, as he said himself, he look'd more at the outside than at the inside, but lay'd them down again, and all this while said nothing.

After some time and looking pretty much round him, he gets up, and taking a turn or two in the shop he calls to the master of the shop. "Pray, Sir," says he, "what shall I give you for all the books upon that side of your shop." It seems the books look'd all fair and new, and were most of them or many of them guilded and letter'd on the back.

The book-seller was perfectly surpris'd at first, and could not tell what to make of it. He saw he look'd
f. 52. like a gentleman, had two foot-men with him and a sword, and he was loth to ask him if they were for sale. He did not look like a bookseller, so that the man was at a loss what to answer and stood mute for some time.

Upon this the gentleman asks him again, and pointing out the shelves with his cane show'd him in particular what books he design'd. "Sir," says the bookseller, "there are duplicates of many of them, and I suppose you would not have them unforted so as they lie there."

It was an unhappy answer in the case, the gentleman not understanding what he meant by the word duplicate ; but to put off¹ discoursing of that or any thing

¹ *of* in MS.

thing elce that might discover his ignorance, but observing the quantity, and that they would make a handsome show in a library, he turns short, and, as if he had been a little angry, he sayes to the book-feller : " Look ye, Sir, it's no matter what they are or what am to do with them ; my question is what you will take for them all together just as they stand."

The bookfeller replyes with the uttmost civility, being you may be sure mighty willing to take his money, that he ask'd his pardon for what he had said ; if he pleas'd to giv him leav just to run them over and cast them up, he would tell him the value of them, but that he could not well make an estimate of them at a lump.

" Well," sayes the gentleman, " then I'll come again to-morrow morning."

" No, Sir," sayes the bookfeller, " you need not giv your self that trouble ; if you please to sit down and read any thing you like, I'll look them over enough for me in a quarter of an hour."

N.B. The bookfeller was loth to part with such a customer, least he should not come again ; otherwise he would have been glad to have had him gone and come again, that he might have shifted some other books into the place that he was very willing to put off with the rest.

But, in a word, the gentleman sits down very patiently, made as if he read a book, but chiefly eyed the book-feller to see how he mannag'd the taking account, which he, knowing most of the books by their out-sides, was not long about, but came to his place behind the counter, and casting up the value, " Sir," sayes he, " the books will come to a great deal of money."

" Well," sayes the gentleman, " if you are for frightening me away, I can go to another shop. Pray, how many thousand pounds do they come to ?"

" No,

"No, Sir," sayes he, "not to thousands neither; but they are the better half of my shop."

"Well, well," sayes the gentleman. "I am no book-feller, and so you may suppose I don't understand them. But I have¹ seen a bookfeller's shop before now."

N.B. This he said to amuse the book-feller, as he afterwards exprest it, that he might not suppose him so ignorant as he really was, and that he might suppose he knew what he was doing, tho' in reality he did not.

After some preamble and his pressing the bookfeller to let him know what he demanded, the man very gravely answer'd him that they came to 346 pound.

"Come, come," sayes the gentleman, "lay your hand upon your heart, and tell me the last price you will make and of which you will abate nothing."

"Sir," sayes the bookfeller, "upon a supposition of ready money which at this time is a scarce thing with tradesmen, I'll abate you the odd fixpounds."

"Look you, Sir," sayes the gentleman, for he was willing to make still a show of understanding things, "let me see your catalogue of them."

"Alas! Sir," sayes the bookfeller, "you can't read it, 'tis onely made up in our shop marks, which will be all Arabick to you. No man alive can read them but our selves."

f. 53. "Come then," sayes the gentleman, "I'll make short work with you. As for credit and trusting, you shall not trust me very long: I shall give you satisfaction² upon that head quickly; but tell me upon your honesty and the word of an honest bookfeller, Have you rated the books at a fair price, such as they are³ ordinarily sold at."

"Yes, indeed, Sir, I have, and I will appeal to any one's knowledge of the trade."

"Why

¹ *have* is omitted in MS.

² Abbreviated.

³ In MS. *are* is omitted.

"Why then, Sir," sayes the gentleman, "there's £330 for you," so he gave him bank notes £300 of the money and the rest in gold, and abated him no more than sixteen pounds of what he ask'd.

The bookseller hum'd and haw'd a little by way of grimace at abateing the ten pound, but after a very few words took his money. The books were taken down, pack'd up in cases, and went down by sea to Southampton,¹ and from thence by land to the gentleman's fine house; where a room haveing been appointed before hand for that purpose, they were all in a very few dayes fet up in their order in presses made on purpose with glasse doores before them, that they might appear in all the extraordinary forms of a library.

How the honest, well meaning gentleman was convinc't of the weakness of his management, how ashamed he was when it was discover'd to him, and above all, with what modesty and caution, to prevent any public reflection, the discovery was made to him by his honest, ingenuous friend, the same who had prevented his being abused in the buying his pictures: all these for brevity sake I omit as being not so directly to my present purpose, tho' otherwise they would make a very agreeable and diverting part in the story.

I might fill up this whole work in examples of this kind, and make the undertaking be a meer satyr upon the English gentry, exposing the mistakes in their education by the consequences in their behaviour and illustrating the proposition which I am upon, namely, that our gentry,² I mean our born gentry,² as they call themselves, are really scandalously ignorant and untaught, weak in parts, because unassisted by early and prudent instruction, and weak in conduct, because not early warn'd and caution'd by the counsel of their guides to avoid the follies and errors of life, and weak
in

¹ MS. *S Hampton*.

² *G.*

in morals for want of being establiſh'd early in good principles and brought to a regular life by the diſcipline and authority of their inſtructors.

But it is not the deſign to expoſe even theſe miſtakes,¹ however ſcandalous and offenſiv, any farther than is abſolutely neceſſary to reform them and to bring the unhappy practice out of uſe among us ; that the gentlemen of England may not have that alloy to their felicity to be the onely men in the world that are compleatly happy and compleatly miſerable at the ſame time, bleſt and unbleſt, empty and full, the glory and pride of their families, and yet the ſhame and reproach of their country and of themſelves too.

It is true, 'tis an evil that can not be remedy'd for the preſent generacion, I mean, for the heiſes in poſſeſſion ; the miſchief has taken root there too deep to be remov'd ; there's no ſending the gentlemen to ſchool after they are marry'd, or giving them *tutors* when they have gott *tutoreſſes* ; that would be a kind of begging them, as 'tis call'd, for ideotiſme, and bringing them back to a ſtate of infancy and pupillage, which will hardly be found practicable.

Befides, a profeſſ'd contempt of knowledge and learning has ſo far engroſſ'd the minds of the people, I ſpeak of them as after their being, as it were, brought up in an indulg'd indolence from the cradle, that 'tis not to be attempted ; it would be abſurd but to mention it ; you muſt firſt convince them that 'tis a defect, before you can hope to prevail on them to ſupplye it ; and you will find that as hard to do as to perſwade a negro that a white woman can be a beauty. In-bred vice will never reliſh exotic virtue ; if the gentleman can not firſt believ his ignorance is an infelicity, he will be very hardly brought to deſire a change and far leſs to endeavour it.

But

¹ MS. *miſtake*.

But one would think it might not be so hard to perswade the present age to reform this evil for their posterity, and to prevail with them that their children may not curse the memory of their fathers for not furnishing their heads as well as their pockets, as too many of the gentlemen of this age have already done by those that went before them; and this may be part of the subject of the next chapter.



C A P. IV.

f. 55. *Of what may be the unhappy consequences of this generall defect in the educacion of our gentry, and a rational proposall for preventing those consequences.*

AS I said in the conclusion of the last chapter, the evill is too far spread to be corrected in the present generation, so that, in short, I doubt we must giv up this age (as the officers of Bedlam do in the case of obstinate lunacy) for incurable.

Hence I should have laid aside all the satyr upon their conduct; for to what purpose should we talk to people of what is pass't remedy, what is too far gone to be cur'd, and what is out of their power to help?

f. 53 b. But there is a particular reason in this case, which comes in the way of our good nature and makes it necessary to expose these things, how ever hard it may seem to run upon the persons and whoever the censure may light upon; and this is the reall danger of the spreading of this contagion. Nothing is more naturall than that it should go on from father to son, if some remedy be not applyed; and what remedy can be apply'd, if the patients dispise the physick? In a word, the practise, however scandalous, will never be cur'd, if the naked part of it be not expos'd, so that we are bound to shew the scandal of what is past, to prevent the

the mischief of what is to come. Their eyes, therefore, must be open'd to the absurdity of the fathers' conduct that it may be rectified by the children.

How shall we persuade those gentlemen not to bring *f. 55.* their sons up in the same ignorance, which they think is so far from being a scandal, that 'tis the ornament of a gentleman? How shall we prevail with them to give their eldest sons any learning, while they think 'tis below their quality? In short, while they insist that it is a degrading and dishonour to their elder children to go to school, to submit to discipline and government, to be tied up to the College orders and the regular living at the Universities; that books are the workmen's tools, and that the professors of the sublimest science are but the mechanicks and workmen that make use of them: I say, while this madness reigns, what *f. 53 b.* can we pretend to do with them, and what hope can we entertain of the next age? except it be this, that the modern gentry, of whom I am yet to speak, will in time shame them out of it and bring learning and good education so much in fashion, that they must come into it at last or be voted infamous, be hiss'd off of the stage of life, be disown'd for meer ignorance, and be no more rank'd among the gentry: a happy time, which I have good reason to think is not very far off.

It is true, the obstinacy of the present age is a terrible obstacle, and intimates that they will make a very great resistance in defence of antient ignorance. The party is strong, and the error, however gross, is deep rooted. They seem not only willing to live and dye *f. . . s,* but to incorporate the privilege of continuing so among the English liberties, which they say they are bound to hand down to their posterity sacred and untouch't, as they received¹ them from their renowned, untaught, rough hewn ancestors.

This

¹ MS. *rec'd*, as often.

This riveted averſion, then, to inſtruction and to all ſorts of improvment being ſuch, and we ſeeming ſo tenacious of it that we will take up arms for it and to defend it even againſt common ſence and in ſpite of the importunities of our reaſon: it ſeems neceſſary to combat the miſchief in its preſent ſtate of obſtinacy; if poſſible, to weaken its defences, and take ſome of its caſtles and fortifications, that it may be the better dealt with in the open field and in a generall battle.

Nor will anything elſe do it. How ſhall it be poſſible to make the next age wiſe men if their fathers reſolv they ſhould be fools? How ſhall the poſterity learn if the anceſtry won't ſend them to ſchool? 'Tis a neceſſity therefore that we ſhould begin here firſt. If
f. 55. the begining is wrong, how can we hope to be right in the concluſion? In a word, while we can not cure the preſent age of this madneſs, is it likely, or indeed poſſible, we ſhould prevent the contagion ſpreading to the ages to come? Fools encrease folly, as dwarfs beget pigmies. The grievance I complain of is a kind of national lunacy; it ſpreads in the climate, and ſeems to be as peculiar to our iſland as the wool is to our ſheep. It grows up with us from father to ſon, has deſcended to us from our anceſtors from the Conqueſt; 'tis an hereditary ſtream of folly, and we are wedded to it juſt as the Ruſſes were to their beards and long petticoates, which when the late Czar oblig'd them to cut off, and dreſs and ſhawe like all the other Chriſtian nations, they call'd it an odious tyranny and begg'd the officers to ſhoot them rather than make them change the cuſtomes of their forefathers; or like the Iriſh that took arms againſt the Engliſh government (tyranny they call'd it alſo), becauſe they might not draw their horſes by the tayls till they murther'd the poor beaſts, but oblig'd them to uſe harnes, in which the creatures could draw fiv times as much and with pleaſure,
 whereas

whereas the other was putting them to work in pain and torture.

It is in vain to complain that we injure the gentlemen of England, when we call it an obstinacy equally absurd with these. The event will best show their reluctance at the change; and as for the absurdity it self, I think 'tis evident theirs is infinitely worse: to espouse ignorance on pretence of quality, what can be like it in the world? No *Russian* stupidity was ever more gross in its nature or half so bad in its consequence.

Besides, it is entailing an eternal sotsism upon their race by the meer right of possession without giving their children leav to choose, as men that purchase estates settle them as they think fit. We complain of *f. 53 b.* tyranny and arbitrary government, if we find our selves oppress'd by the soveraign, and presently we talk of the naturall rights of subject; that our libertyes are our birth-right and that no government has a power to disinherit us; that we are subject to the Government we live under, where they govern according to law; but that the laws of God and Nature are superior to all regal authority; that we are certainly entitl'd by an indefeizable right to the grants of original power and can not be divested of them without the greatest injustice: and this is all very right, and all this argues much stronger in the case before us. 'Tis very hard that it should be in the paternal monarchy what it is not in the national, and that the patriarchal authourity, which, by the way, has been some thousands of yeares abolish'd, should place an absolute power in the head of the house to doom his subjects, that is his children, to be fools or wise men by his meer arbitrary will, and, what adds to the injustice, should among the line of his posterity determine arbitrarily, this shall be a schollar and this a block-head,

head, or, to speak it in groffer terms, this shall be the wife man, and this a gentleman.

f. 56^q Besides, here are two acts of violence comitted, which I must insist are really not unjust onely, but an insult upon Heaven it self; and that cannot be found in the patriarchall power, which was an institution immediately from Heaven and, therefore, could not be attended with such a commission.

1. Here's a violence upon the free will of the person; for the child has certainly a right of option, and the father has no just authourity to deprive him of it.

2. Here's a violence upon Nature, which I call an insult on Heaven, and think it very well merits to be call'd so. Here is a kind of rape committed upon the genius of the child, imposing a negativ upon him, dooming him to ignorance in spite of a capacity given for knowledge.

1. A personal violence and injustice to the child. If we put a boy out apprentice, nay, tho' it be a charity child, 'tis generally left to the lad to choose his trade; 'tis thought a peice¹ of justice due to him that his genius and inclination may be consulted, because 'tis supposed he will allwayes improv best in such business as suites with his capacities, and that Nature is allwayes the best judge for it self.

Is the poor mechanick, who is born to be a drudge and by the immediate subjection to its benefactors might be thought bound to submit to what they direct; I say, is this slave allowed the freedom of choice in his introduction into the world, and not the gentleman? Should *he* choose whether he will be a cobbler or a barber, a weaver or a butcher, and should the heir of an estate, the young gentleman who is by entail to inherit thousands, and perhaps thousands by the year, shall

¹ MS. *ps*, as often.

shall he onely be tyed up, and that in the most essential part of life?

Shall he that may be suppo'd to share the government with his soveraign, to represent his country in Parliament, to be cloth'd with commissions of the peace and, perhaps, of war, he that is by birthright a magistrate and a man of quality, should he alone not be allow'd to choose whether he shall be a man of fence or a fool?

2. 'Tis a violence upon Nature, and indeed that way the hardship is in its kind unsufferable, as it is in its practice unjust. If the child has a genius, if Nature has furnish'd him with a fund of fence, with large capacities, clear thought, a strong memory, just images; if his soul is adapted to instruction, receptible of due impressions, and, as it were, prepar'd for knowledge of the highest and best things; shall such a head be deny'd teaching? shall all the parts and capacities of such a soul be like a blank book seal'd up that it cannot be written upon, or like hard wax, that not being brought to the fire can receive no impression? I say the hardship is unsufferable; and if ever such a child comes, by any kind turn of life, to attain to such other improvements as may be attain'd without the help of schools, and after the season of school learning is, by the parents' neglect, pass't over, the windows of the soul come to be open'd, and the person sees its own defect: how dismal are the consequences, how unhappy is the life! Unhappy did I call it? I should rather have said, how compleatly miserable is such a gentleman in the middle of all his height of fortune!

How does he look back for the cause, and with passion enquire, How came I to be thus? What, every body taught but I? My brother made a scholar, such a mean person's son well taught, well furnish'd with learning, and I onely abandon'd! Nay, there's such a
poor

poor farmer has bred his son at the University, and he is now to be a clergy-man, is already a man of worth, and keeps company with the best gentlemen; and I am just now going to give him such or such a living that is in my gift, because he is a man of extraordinary merit and of a great character for his learning and sobriety. None bred up fools but I! I that have the inheritance! I have the estate, indeed, but what else have I? How unfinished, how unfurnished! How do I look among Gentlemen! How ignorant, how empty, when other men much my inferiours come into my company! How handsomely do they discourse! How do they reason and argue upon the nicest things, and how acceptable in company of the men of learning; and how do I sit and say nothing, because I can say nothing to the purpose, and because knowing my infirmity I am loth to expose my self, and have just fence enough to avoid saying any thing, that I may not talk like a fool!

And was my father the occasion of all this? and that willfully, too, on pretence that I was the gentleman and must be the heir! What! did my father think learning below my quality? Can that be below a gentleman that is an ornament to a prince? Is it possible my father could be so stupid? Why, then, my father was a —, was not fit to bring up a family, not fit to be trusted with the education of his own children, and should have been begg'd for a —. Here he falls out in a rage, rails at the memory of all his ancestors, and at even the mother that bore him, and like Job in the agony of his affliction, curses the day in which he was born, and 'tis not seldome that he curses father and mother, too, as I have many times seen when the passions, being rais'd by the reproach of it, have¹ carry'd him beyond bounds.

I

¹ MS. *has*.

I cou'd giv abundance of examples of this very particular part which in the compafs of my own knowledge and converfation I have met with ; but I'll fumm *f. 56 b.* them up all in the long debate which I my felf had with a perfon of diftinction and of a very antient and noble family, whose cafe really was very moving and was the firft and great occafion of this whole work.

I had the honour frequently to converfe with him on other occafions relating to fome of his family affaires, wherein he was attack'd by a parcell of thofe worft of thieves call'd projectors, who found abundance of chymerick fchemes for the improvement, as they call'd it, of his eftate, dreynng fome lands, erecting manufactories¹ in fome towns where his eftate lay, on pretence of doing good to the country, employing the poor, and the like ; but which upon examination all appear'd to be meer projects to pick his pocket and draw him into things which he did not underftand and which really had nothing in them and were onely calculated to draw him in and abufe him.

Thefe projects I unravell'd for him, convinc't him, firft, of their being impracticable in their nature, and then, put him in a method how to get rid of their importunityes by giving them in return fuch a propofall as they were not able to answer, and which, if comply'd with, deftroy'd their whole defign. The fum of the matter was this :—

They propofed (1) erecting manufactories¹ in fuch a part of the country where his Lordfhip's eftate lay, and employing the people in fuch a manner that fhould not onely reliev them, but be a vaft profit to his Lordfhip for the advance of his money.

2. They propof'd dreining a large peice of land of near 1000 acres, which by reafon of its flat, low fituation was generally under water fix or feaven months of

¹ MS. *M*.

of the year, and, being by that means rendr'd cold and wet, was of little use and lefs value ; but they propos'd to make it worth £500 a year.

To carry on this profitable undertaking they propos'd to his Lordshipp advancing £5000 onely, and that the profits should be all his own, allowing a very modest share to the undertakers.

The proposall was very specious, and if it was probable, very well deserv'd the risque¹ of £5000 ; but as I foresaw that the risque of its being perform'd lay all upon my Lord, that their profit was certain and no certainty of its being practicable, I drew up the following proposall to be made to them in return to their offer, and which I mention here as a pattern for all honest gentlemen to get rid of projectors by, and on that account onely it is to my purpose in this work ; viz.

That his Lordshipp took very well their offer of improving his estate and doing good to the poor, both which were things very agreeable to him ; that he was very ready to close with their proposall, onely with some small variation, and that, as he conceiv'd, greatly to their advantage ; as follows:

1. That he was ready to advance the £5000 demanded, with this difference onely, (viz.) that his Lordshipp thought it too small a sum for so great an undertaking, and therefore was willing to advance £10,000 with-out interest, that it might be carry'd on with the more credit and certainty of succefs.

2. That as his Lordshipp desir'd none of the profits, which they assur'd him would be so exceeding great, contenting himself with the having serv'd the country and helped the poor, so he was very willing they should reciev the whole profits of the undertaking, and that they should also have the lands when secur'd upon a long lease at £250 per annum rent,
being

¹ MS. *risqz*.

being onely half of what they propos'd, onely desiring that he should be secur'd the repayment of the 10,000 at the end of so many yeares (I think it was 5 year).

This was so fair they could make no objection to it, and yet so clenching upon them that they whose designe was onely to get the money into their hands, that they were wholly dissappointed and had no more to say ; and so his Lordshipp got rid of them.

As this is a digression from our subject, I had not *f. 54 b.* mention'd it but, *as I say above*, that I think it may be of use for a standing direction to men of quality and estates, how to manage themselves when they are besieg'd by projectors with their pickpocket schemes, as this noble person was and as gentlemen of estates often are.

It perfectly deliver'd this noble person from the snare of the proposall it self, which, tho' specious in its pretence, was really no other than a fraud ; and it deliver'd him also from the importunity of the people ; and if gentlemen, who I say are generally surrounded with such people, would take the same method, (*viz.*) give up the main of the imaginary profits to the proposers, onely insisting to have security for the money to be advanc'd, and for so much of the advantage as is reasonable to be reserv'd, they would soon see the projectors would forsake them. But I return to the case in hand.

This noble person I have mention'd was born of an antient English family, and if it may be call'd so, had a noble estate also. He had likewise a good genius, fine thoughts, a bright, clear head, a great memory, and, in a word, was capable of anything ; but, as he said, in *f. 57.* spite of the nobility of his birth, the greatness of his fortune and family, had the misfortune by a total neglect of his education to be robb'd in his youth of all the jewells and ornaments of his birth, as he justly call'd them.

There

There happen'd one day to be two very polite and well educated gentlemen at his Lordshipp's table (for the discourse begun while they were at dinner). They had talk'd with his Lordshipp, while they were eating, in the usuall family chat, and of indifferent things. But after the cloth was taken away, or they remov'd into another room, being both very good schollars, they fell into discourses of more weight, and particularly upon some nice astronomical disputes much in debate at that time in the world, about the appearing of comets, and upon the occasion of Dr. Halley's having discovred a comet in our hemisphere. The debate was, whether their mocions were in certain and fix'd orbits, or whether in the waft of infinite space they rang'd about as chance directed, till they were burn't out and exhausted like a torch, which being wafted expires and is seen no more ; or, lastly, and which they both inclin'd to think, whether they are like the sun constant and continued, and so may be expected to be visibie just in the same manner as they were before at the fixt periods of their ordinary revolutions, which they concluded might not, in some of them, be till severall hundred yeares.

They had many fine observations of these and of other different kinds, as well upon this as other subjects, all finely intersper'd with their discourse ; and it was exceeding pleasant and diverting to his Lordshipp and the rest of the company to hear them.

But in the middle of all the discourse his Lordshipp turn'd to me having the honour to sit next him : " Now, what would I giv," sayes he (aside), and fetch'd a deep sigh, " to have but one thousandth part of the fence, the knowlege, the wit, and learning of either of those gentlemen ! "

" My Lord," sayes I, " as for the fence and wit, your Lordshipp, without any flattery, can not complain ; but
as

as to the learning and the improv'd knowlege which they have, 'tis true, they are very ingenious men, and they talk well, admirably well : but your Lordshipp is plac'd abov all these things. You have no need of them." With that he pull'd me by the sleev : "Come hither to me," sayes he ; so making a short excuse to the two gentlemen we walk'd into another room.

"What," sayes my Lord with some warmth, "are you, Mr . . . ,"—and call'd me by my name—"one of those people that think gentlemen of quallity are above being taught? that learning is a disshonour to their dignity and their birth, and that they are to be brought up fools, onely because they are rich and have estates or perhaps honours and dignities?"

"What the devil," added he, and began to be very hot, "must we be curs'd with ignorance because we are advanc'd in rank, be made fools because we have mony? Must none be left untaught and uninstructed but we that have estates? Are lords made for sport to the world?" There he added some hot words, and a hearty curse or two upon the horrid practife, as he call'd it, all which I leave out.

"No, my Lord," said I, "you can't apply it to your self in such a sence as that ; some men of honour may have the misfortune of weak capacities in common with other people, but your Lordshipp can not be plac'd among that number."

"What!" sayes his Lordshipp, continuing still very warm, "you mean I am not a naturall fool ; perhaps not ! and when you have said that, you have said all. But I suppose my father tooke me for such, or elce he would certainly have taught me better ; he concluded to be sure that I was born a blockhead, and that instruction would make no impression upon me, that I had no naturall powers and was not capable of learning

ing any thing ; or elce, surely, he would have had me bred up to some thing."

f. 58. "Your Lordshipp is too severe upon your father," said I, "he cou'd not think so of you."—"What could it be then ?" said he.

"Be, my Lord ?" said I, "why, your Lordshipp knows what is the common notion of men of quallity to this hour ; and I make no question but his Lordshipp your father and, perhaps, your grandfather also, were of the opinion as others were and are still ; that learning is of no use to a gentleman, that a noble man or a gentleman of a great fortune is born for enjoyment, born for his pleasures ; that they are plac'd above all these things, that the world is given them to range in with a full stream of all possible satisfaction¹ ; that they have nothing to do but eat the fat and drink the sweet, to enjoy the fullness of all things, gratifying and indulging themselves with the abundance² of delights ; that all other things are subservient to them ; that nature itself is directed to flow in upon them with a full stream of felicity ;—and they can want no more."

"You have made a fine brute of a lord, indeed," sayes his Lordshipp ; "I think you have been drawing my picture to the life."

"How can your Lordshipp entertain such a thought," said I ; "there's no manner of simillitude, I hope, in the case."

"I don't say you intended it so," sayes my Lord ; "but, indeed, I think there is too much simillitude in the circumstances³ ; the thing is extremely apposite. You describe my condicion most exactly. I am one of those very happy, wretched things ; you have painted me out to the life. I am happy, indeed, just in such a manner ; wondrous happy, indeed !"

"My Lord," said I, "I think you are very happy."

"Happy !"

¹ Abbreviated.

" MS. *abunda*."

³ Abbreviation.

"Happy?" said my Lord. "What, happy in being ignorant? a happy fool? I know no such animal in all God Almighty's¹ family."

"But, my Lord," said I, "you can not be call'd ignorant, much less a fool; that's none of your character."

"Well, suppose for once you should distinguish of fools," said his Lordship, "and that my father was mistaken, that is, that I am not a natural, not an ideot, as I suppose he took me to be: yet I am an ignorant, an untaught, an uninformed creature. I call such a man a fool, you may call him a lord, or what you will; the thing is the same."

"I think quite otherwise," said I. "Your Lordship is so² far from being a natural, that you can't call yourself unhappy on that account; you have a superiour genius, a clear thought, a good judgment: you know the world, have a noble fortune, and may call yourself happy on a thousand occasions that I care not to repeat because I would not seem to flatter you."

"And yet am with all an illiterate, uneducated thing, call me what you please. There's two gentlemen a talking within in the parlour like two angels: why I can't put in a word among them. It is all above my understanding. What was I, or what devil possess't my father, that I should forfeit all instruction? why was I forgot when these men were taught? Did my father think the dogs and the huntsmen were to teach me? or was I to be inform'd by revelation and inspiration because I was a lord? I have reason to curse the memory of these things, and the ill fate of having a lord to my father. Heaven! that I had been the son of a private man, so he had been but a man of fence; then I had been taught like these gentlemen; but now I must be an ignorant creature, because I was

¹ MS. *a' mighty's*.

² *so* is struck out in MS.

was the son of an ignorant creature. I hate the son of a fool. I had rather have been the son of a whore."

"My Lord," said I, "you are in a passion."

"It makes me mad," said he, "to see the happyness of other men, and the misery I am condemn'd to. They are men of fence, and I am damn'd to non-fence and ignorance."

"You may not have so much learning, my Lord," said I, "as they; but you have your happyness of another kind; and 'tis abundantly made up to you."

"Yes," says my Lord, "I am a very happy fool. Why, a stag in my¹ park is just such a noble, happy creature as I am. He lyes all the heat of the day stretch't out in the cover, as I do upon my couch; enjoys his full ease and the uttmost satisfaction²; he has grafs in abundance up to his eyes, there's wealth. He knows no superior, there's honour and dignity. He is never disturb'd either with dogs, or guns, or huntsmen, or horn. He is above all fear and knows no want; he despises all the creatures about him, even the keeper himself fears him and shuns the danger of his terrible crest; he is proud, haughty, fierce, tyrannicall, and to sum up all most compleatly ignorant, and therefore wonderfull happy; for if he knew his station in life, the end of his present felicity, namely that he is fed up for my table and to grace my entertainment, and, *abov all*, the fate that attends him would be an end of all his pleasure at once; if he knew that after all his ease, his sloth, his pleasure, when the season comes about when he is fatt and, as we say, in good order, his fate will be that he is to be run down, and worry'd with dogs; that his death is to be the sport of the family, and even of my huntsmen and servants; that we shall all sound the French horn at his fall and tryumph in his destruccion; and

¹ Over *in my*, *Red Deer* is written.

² Abbreviation.

and that his fine spread horns are to grace my hall ; and that, however innocent he may be, his head will be set up like a traytor's to be star'd at by the world : did he know all this, what would become of all his enjoyment, his ease and pleasure, his pride and haughtyness ? On the contrary, he would pine himself to death. What would become of his happyness ? —Ignorance is, indeed, his uttmost felicity, and so you seem to describe myne too."

"All things in this world," said I, "are happy or unhappy, great or little, of short or long continuance, as they are taken in perspective and seen in a distant or comparativ light. Your Lordshipp is now made uneasie by comparing yourself with these two gentlemen in respect to acquir'd advantages, learning, phylofophy, and the benefit of education, and in that you find they excell. Now you think yourself unhappy, but you do not bring all your other felicitys into the ballance and weigh them together ; but, like the generall usage of the world, you flight the superior happyness which you enjoy, onely on account of some smaller thing which you may think you want."

"A pretty extenuating way you have got," said my Lord. "What is all acquir'd knowlege, the study of the sublimest wisdom, the improvement and brightning the soul of a man ? Are these your smaller things, and is the fence of my own emptyness, which I see is reall and feel the deficiency of, is this onely thinking I want them ? Come, come, my friend," sayes his Lordshipp, "talk fence, and be plain and honest. You see those gentlemen are men of learning ; they have a vast fund of sublime knowlege, fine thoughts, beautifull¹ expression ; their heads are fill'd with fence ; they have, in short, all the accomplishments both of nature and

¹ MS. *beatifull*.

and education; and what do I look like among them?"

"They are men of learning," said I, "that is plain, f. 59. my Lord; but you have a degree of knowlege, too, and that sufficient, tho' not equall to some."

"Sufficient?" sayes my Lord, and made a kind of stop. "What do you mean by sufficient? No man has sufficient knowlege while there is any thing left to know. You mean, perhaps, I have knowlege sufficient for a lord?" And with that his Lordshipp smil'd a little.

"No, my Lord, I cou'd not mean so. I beg your Lordshipp," said I, "not to think me rude; but you are pleas'd to fix the happyness of man in certain degree of knowlege; and if so, there is no man compleatly happy, unless he knows every thing that is to be known, or, at least, if any man knows more than he."

"And so I do," sayes my Lord, "with some few exceptions. A man ought never to sit still in the uttmost search after perfect wisdom any more than in the uttmost search after perfeccion of vertue. Can any man be happy while he sees another man be master of some thing in knowlege which he wants and ought to know?"

"Then no man on earth can be happy," said I, "and so your Lordshipp has brought it to a point that onely they are most happy that have the most compleat knowlege, and so all are unhappy in wanting something."

"Well, and in some sence it is so," said he.

"But then your Lordshipp would do well," said I, "to cast up your enjoyment and see whether you have not enough to denominate your self happy. There are few men on earth that want so little of any thing."

"You are gone from the point," sayes my Lord; "I have

have some things you call enjoyments, and you may call them by as great names as you will. Make up the account with all the fine words you can, but words will never make up things : one is imaginary, the other reall. I tell you I want that one thing that is worth them all, and that I would now give them all up in exchange for ; and that is learning and knowlege : these I want."

"Your¹ Lordshipp," sayes I, "values learning and knowlege very justly in saying they are equall to all worldly enjoyments, and so they are in their stacion ; but then you under-rate the equivalents you have, and which have plac'd you out of the reach of other men and out of the want of any thing the world can give you ; and to talk of an exchange is out of the way, because, tho' learning joyn'd with honour and fortune would be a great ornament to it, yet seperated from it the rate of it would sink in proporcion."

"You must giv them their due seperate value for all that, and I tell you that learning infinitely over-rates the honour. Learning will allways comand honour, but titles and estate can never acquir wisdom. The rich fool may dye a fool and still be rich and great, but the learned, poor, wise man may dye a lord, and many have done so ; nay, more men in the world have risen from low beginnings to the hight of glory by the merit of virtue, learning, and great acquirements, than have risen from meer quality and hereditary honour without them."

"I am far, my Lord," said I, "from endeavouring to under-rate the accomplishments of the mind brightn'd by polite educacion ; but, my Lord, I would not have your Lordshipp depreciate the accomplishments you have, because you have not the utmost attainment of
learning,

¹ This and the next paragraph are marked for deletion, but are not struck out.

learning, or of all that is or can be attain'd ; you have more than many, and many ways enough for your station and dignity. They are gentlemen of learning, good scholars, and men of parts, and you are——”

“ I am,” said my Lord hastily and interrupting me, “ I know very well what I am and what they are. They are men of fence and learning, glorious parts, and wit, and nobly educated ; and I am an animal with gay titles and high birth, a good estate, and taught nothing ;
f. 60. no learning, no acquir'd knowledge, brought up among fools and flatterers, taught to take the most early pleasures instead of drinking in early wisdom, taught to talk to dogs and horses instead of men, and the brutal languages instead of Greek and Latin.”

“ You run too hard upon your self,” said I, “ your Lordship has been taught well enough.”

“ Well enough for a lord,” says he, “ I suppose you mean so. I tell you I have been taught nothing, and I know nothing compar'd to those gentlemen. What a noble study is that of astronomy, the motions and revolutions of the heavenly bodies, the great order of the superior world ! What is it all to me but one universal blank ! I am left to mere nature, and to the grossest and coarsest conceptions of those things in the world, and to make the wildest guesses at them, fit for wiser men to laugh at, like the country-man that being ask'd by a learned man what he thought all the glorious face of the heavens which he saw in a clear starlight night might be, answer'd, it was a great *blew blanket* all full of *ilett holes*, that it was all fire beyond it, and the fire shone upon us thro' those holes, in some places bigger and some less, as the holes were larger and smaller ; as we might see by that great hole bigger than all the rest which was so wide that the fire came thro' in an extraordinary manner ; and he knew it to be all fire, he said, beyond, because he could feel the very heat of it.”

“ That

"That a country-mán," said I, "had a very great share of thought I warrant him."

"Yes," said my Lord, "and just such may I or another be ; but what is it all without learning, without instruction ? 'Twas all nature."

"Nature even uninstructed," said I, "will go a great way some times."

"Yes," saies my Lord ; "but nature instructed is the perfection of wisdom."

"It is an addition," said I ; "I never intended to crye down the advantages of learning, but to move your Lordshipp not to look upon your self so defectiv as to be unhappy for want of it, when you have so many things about you to make up your felicity."

"An addition do you call it," sayes my Lord, "an addition ? Yes, ignorance is a deprivation of learning, as darkness is a deprivation of light."

"But Nature," said I, "is the foundation of knowlege, and there you abound. The foundation is lay'd, and your Lordshipp may build."

"Nature a foundation ? Yes, but if it is not dug 'tis no foundation ; 'tis what we may call a found bottom to lay a foundation on ; but 'tis no foundation, till it is dug and the bottom found and levell'd and lay'd out ; in a word, Nature is darknes and Learning is light ; Nature is a deep, Learning is the lead and line to found and search out the depth by. Nature is the virgin bride, Learning is the bridegroom. Nature produces nothing till she is married to Learning and got with child of Science. In a word, Nature is ignorance, and Learning is knowlege ; and that's the state of the case between these gentlemen and me."

"Your Lordshipp," sayes I, "does not talk like what you call yourself."

"Prethee," sayes my¹ Lord, "hear them talk, and here
me

¹ MS. *may*.

me talk ; and then judge. They kno' every thing, and I onely kno' that I kno' nothing ; and I think you kno' as little as I ; elce you wouldn't call birth and quallity an equivalent for wifdome and learning, when at the fame time, one is filver and the other is gold ; one is the cafe and the other the jewell, or, if you will, one is body, the other foul."

"Well, my Lord ; then ftill you allow," faid I, "that tho' they have the gold, your Lordfhipp has the filver."

"Yes, yes, I have the filver, but the text fayes of Wifdome, *Her merchandize is better than filver*, Prov. In a word, you may fee it plain enough : they have the brains, I have the fcul ; they the fullnefs, I the emptynefs ; they are the learned gentlemen, and I am *f. 60 b.* the fool lord : and that is the whole of the account ; and I think I have reason enough to think my felf miserable with all the equivalents. I am surpriz'd at your talk. Is there any equivalent for being a fool ? When Nature has taken away the underftanding, can fhe giv an equivalent ?"

"But, my Lord," faid I, "thank God, you are not in that clafs. You want no brains."

"I think otherwife," faies my Lord. "But fuppofe it was not fo, and remove the cafe from a charge upon parent Nature to the jufter charge upon an unnaturall parent. Suppofe Nature like a good parent had given the capacity, how unnatural are our reall parents when they withhold or denye educacion and erudicion ! Can they giv an equivalent ? What is an eftate to the entail of wifdome and knowlege ? Is that your equivalent you talk'd off ?"

"Thoufands of ftarving fhollars, my Lord, and hungry phylofophers would think it fo," faid I, "and be very glad of the exchange."

"As to being a hungry phylofopher and a ftarving fhollar, I do not underftand it. If I was the fhollar
or

or the phyloſopher, I think I could never ſtarv or want."

"But we find many men, my Lord," ſaid I, "in extreme want that are men of learning."

"Then," ſaies my Lord, "they muſt have very great defects ſome other way. I never giv any thing to a ſtarving ſchollar. Sometimes I meet with a poor, ſhabby, ragged fellow without a pair of ſhoes begging in Latine; and the other day one came to my door that confounded us all, tho' I had my chaplain and two phyſitians in the houſe, for he beg'd in Greek. I never like them."

"I hope your Lordſhipp reliev'd him, for he muſt be ſomething extraordinary."

"It was a long time before we could make any thing of him or kno' what language he ſpoke; we were fain to ſend for M^r . . . , the Maſter of our Free School, and he underſtood him preſently, and told us he ſpoke very good Greek and as good Latin."

"What could be the meaning of his poverty?" ſaid I.

"Why, the meaning," ſaid my Lord, "juſt the ſame as I allwayes take ſuch to be. We found him out preſently; and as the ſchool-maſter ſaid at firſt that he belev'd he was ſome worthleſs, indolent, idle fellow, ſo we ſoon found that his darling vice was that he was an incorrigible drunkard and withall an intollerable lyar."

"I hope, my Lord," ſaid I, "you help'd the poor fellow however."

"Yes," ſaies my Lord, "I did ſomething for him; and had he been good for anything, I would have took him in and maintain'd him handſomely. It came into my head immediately that I might learn ſomething of him."

"It was pity ſo much learning ſhould be ſo ill beſtow'd," ſaid I.

"I never reliev'd any of thoſe fellows but I repented it: 'tis all thrown away; they would not be poor if they

they were not incorrigibly idle or incorrigibly wicked ; and the more learning they have, the worfe. But what's all this to the cafe ?" faid my Lord.

"It was brought in," faid I, "to make it out that many would giv their learning up for an estate, because your Lordshipp objected againſt its being an equivalent for an estate, honour, titles, and the goods of Fortune."

"That is," faid my Lord, "because, tho' they may have a ſtock of ſchool learning, they have not made a right judgement of the value of it, and what is more, have not a juſt fence of the advantages of it. Thoſe are a ſort of good-for-nothing people, who you call meer ſchollars."

I added, "And perhaps are pinch'd with their preſent diſtreſſes, poverty, and even to want of bread."

"Yes," ſaies my Lord very readily, "ſo Efau ſold his
f. 61. birthright, being, as the text ſayes, periſhing for hunger."

"No body knows the diſtreſſes of ſuch," added I, "but thoſe that feel it, as in the cafe your Lordshipp named juſt now ; for as Efau ſaid, What good ſhall this primogeniture do me if I am ſtarv'd ? what is all their Latin and Greek to them if they periſh for want of bread ?"

My Lord reply'd preſently: "It was allways charg'd as a crime upon Efau, and he was call'd a prophane perſon for it ; I kno' not what to ſay, indeed," added his Lordshipp, "as to ſtarving ; but elce I would never ſell my learning ; if I had the knowlege of letters and languages, books and antiquity, I would never ſell them whatever I wanted ; but, in ſhort, if I had learning I would never want, I could not."

"But your learning," faid I, "could not giv you the dignity, my Lord, and the honours you now enjoy ; it could not giv you the primogeniture of a noble houſe, and make you be the eldeſt and chief of your family."

"I don't kno' that," ſayes my Lord ; "learning and
true

true merit has rais'd many a family from nothing, that is, from an obscure birth, to the height of honour and even to nobility itself."

"But what is become of birth and blood then," said I, "and the antiquity of a family which some people lay so great a stress upon, that they think there is nothing great or honourable in the world without it?"

"Those people," says my Lord very gravely, "value them selves upon what they do not understand. Nobility is founded in virtue. I should in such a case, perhaps, be the first of my race, the beginner of an antient family; for time would make it antient, and all families began some where. Better be the first of a great young family, and found it in virtue and on a stock of true merit, than the last of a great old family and sink it by my own vice and degeneracy. Pray, which is the most to be valued?"

"Don't we reckon up such or such an antient worthy recorded for a man of merit? I say, don't we honour the memory of him as the father of such or such a race, the founder of the family, the first of the blood? Such, then, I would be in the front of a new race, and think my self as much honour'd as in humane affairs it was possible for any man to be."

"My Lord," said I, "you have a different opinion of these things from most of the gentlemen that I converse with; they lay the main stress of their families upon the antiquity of them, their antient race, the blood of the Talbots, the Veres, the Howards, the Darcyes, the Hastings, and the like."

"Well," said my Lord, "and I like it very well, provided I am something that is equal to my ancestors, and that by my merit I can maintain the honour of the house; that I show my self worthy of my birth, and that I do not dishonour my titles; am not a scandal to an antient family; but if I am a degenerate branch of
an

an antient stem, a disgrace to the root of the family, what then?"

"But," said I, "that is an uncertain way of stating the point; for, my Lord, what shall we call honouring or dishonouring our family?"

"I'll tell you what I call it," says my Lord. "Dishonouring them is when I behave in such a manner as that my great ancestor 100 or perhaps 500 year ago, being himself a man of honour and virtue, would be ashamed to own me for one of his name, not think me worthy of calling me a kinsman of his blood. On the other hand honouring it is when by my own proper merit and by some conspicuous virtue I add to the lustre of my family and to the roll of honorable ancestors, raising a just fame and acquiring a character, shining in acts of virtue and goodness, such as good men will value and all wise men approve, and in which I strive to excell. This I call being worthy of my birth."

f. 62. "I grant all this, my Lord," said I, "but at this rate no man can rightly value himself upon his family and birth but he that by some honourable action does something to add to the illustrious race, something that out-does all of his line and out-shines those that have gone before him. This may be hard for a man to do."

"Well," said my Lord, "and that is the case in some degree: for as every age adds to the roll of the family, so every branch ought to add some thing to the history of the race, some thing that may do it honour, some thing that may enlarge its history, some thing that may read well in the annals of the family and may stand for an example worth the imitation of posterity. I do not say it must be critically more in degree than all that went before: for tho' 'tis certain that every truly great soul strives to excell, yet every man has not
equall

equall opportunity: but there ought to be something bright in every character."

"But who then diffhonour¹ their ancestors?" said I, "and how muſt we diſtinguiſh here? for the merit will lye one way or other."

"I anſwer'd that part," ſaid my Lord, "at the firſt appearance of the queſtion; but I'll explain it a little, as my own caſe ſerves to explain it; and it is thus, when the heir—as I may be now—the head of the race, or the chief, is uneducated, an uncultivated brain, a thoughtleſs, indolent, uncapable wretch, taught nothing and bred to nothing, and conſequently knows nothing."

I return'd warmly as if offended a little: "You run too hard upon your ſelf, my Lord; you can not raiſe ſuch a blaſt upon your character without injuſtice to your ſelf and to your whole family. You are not an ignorant perſon, a fool, one that knows nothing, and all thoſe things. You would be very angry if another man ſhould call you ſo."

My Lord replied merrily, "Don't be angry with me and for me both together. I underſtand very well what you mean. Perhaps I ſhould not like it if another man told me ſo, becauſe he has not the ſame right to ſay it of me as I have to ſay it of my ſelf; but I hardly kno' how I could reaſonably reſent it neither, when I could not deny the fact. I could not tell him he ly'd; for my conſcience would tell me 'twas every word true. I might tell him he was a faucy,² rude, and unmannerly fellow and corect him for his ill language, but could not call him a lying fellow, becauſe the fact is all true."

I anſwer'd, "No, my Lord, with your pardon, it is not all true neither; it is not litterally fact. You may be ignorant comparitively, and kno' nothing comparitively,

¹ *Diffhonours* in MS.

² MS. *fucy*.

tively, and who is not so? Where is the man that no body goes beyond?"

"Come, come," replies me Lord, "don't make me any thing but what I am. The case is plain, I am nothing that I ought to have been. I have had no education suitable to what I was to be or to what I might have been. My father did me no justice; my mother brought me up among the petticoates and in the nursery, till, if I had been sent to school, I should have been thro' my grammar. My tutor cheated me; and they cheated my father that propos'd him for a tutor. The man had learning, but he was a man of pleasure himself and gratified himself and me, too, in all the little excursions of a youth, when he should have kept me strictly to books and languages; and thus the most valuable hours of life were lost, and, instead of being finish'd for the college and for travell, I came out into the world a finish'd blockhead, fit for nothing; and when I came to the estate, which was too soon too, that entirely ruin'd me; I ought indeed to have been sent to school then, to be made fit to enjoy it."

I found by this discourse we should run back into the same exclamations where his Lordship began, and not being able to deny the justice of his reflexions I endeavour'd to turn his thoughts off to some other subject, and put his Lordship in mind that the two gentlemen in the parlour would think us long. Upon that he stop't; but before we went in, my Lord said, "I must have some further discourse with you upon this subject; for I am resolv'd," added he, "not to live and dye a blockhead all my days. Is there nothing to be learn't after a man is 40 year old?"

I told him it was a question of importance, and I desir'd him to explain himself a little upon it that I might give him a fuller answer.

He answer'd, "I will do so by and by, but we'll go
in

in to see our friends for the present, leaft they should f. 63. take it ill." So this agreeable conversation ended.

I return to the title of this chapter, namely, What are the¹ consequences of this neglect? And without morallizing in a formall way upon that long and yet undecided question whether want of education is not opening the door to a life of vice and extravagance and whether the learned or the unlearned world are the wickedest; I say, without entring upon this, the more evedent and undeny'd consequence of it, and what is point blank to the subject before me, is this:

That as the neglect of the last age has entail'd ignorance upon the present, so the ignorance of the present age, if not wisely confidred of, will not fail to bring on the like neglect for the next: and this the ground plat, the ichnography of my whole undertaking.

Our fathers, bred up in family pleasure and hereditary indolence, plac'd the whole weight of their glory upon the long pedegree of their houses, the race of great men who bore the name before them, whose titles, honours and wealth they pofest, no matter whether their own merit legitimates the claim, or no; upon this imaginary honour they elate their minds to the uttmofst extravagance, value themselves as exalted in birth above the rest of the world, and look down upon all mankind as plac'd below them just within the reach of their foot and born to be spurn'd at and kick't by the gentry as meer foot-balls for their exercise and diversion.

This hereditary pride descends as naturally from father to son as the estate, and as if the entail of it was as certain and unalienable, 'tis infus'd early into the heads of the young heirs before the best of their instruction, and they learn to kno' they are gentlemen long before they learn that they are men, learn the
lesson

¹ *the* omitted in MS.

lesson of family pride before their A B C, and to know they are above being corrected at school, before they are big enough to go thither.

"Dam it, Madam," said a young heir to his mother, "I have £10,000 a year estate, and I won't be contradicted." The young gentleman was not above 9 year old or thereabouts, and had been flatter'd by the nurses and wenches that waited on him, and told what he was to be too soon, as well as with too little discretion; and this was the product of it. I know the family very well.

This door being open'd and early vice thus introduc'd with the mother's milk, no wonder 'tis riveted in the mind too fast for education it self, if that most probable remedy were apply'd to remove it. But that being likewise neglected and even despis'd from the same unhappy principle that 'tis dishonourable and below the quality of the child, as above: all subsequent applications are render'd¹ perfectly useless, and the miserable gentleman, miracle excepted, is damn'd to ignorance and repentance.

And what do I speak of repentance in a case where the opinion of its being no defect, but an ornament, shuts the door against all regret at the thing its self! Men never repent of any thing which they do not think was wrong: if it is no mistake, how can they repent of it? besides, how can they repent of it and glory in it at the same time?

This brings me to the great and most fatal consequence of all, and what, as I have said above, this work is calculated on purpose to expose, viz., this notion of its being no error to omit the education of their eldest sons, as it was the reason of bringing up the present generation of gentlemen in ignorance and indolence without learning, without erudition, without
books,

¹ MS. *rend*^d.

books, empty of all accur'd knowlege, and without a taft of the blessing of it. It infallibly preserves the entail, and hands on the obftinate ignorance to the next age, and fo on in æternum.

How fhould an uninstructed generacion inform their posterity? By what strange infpiration from above fhould the next age be lovers of learning, applye themselves to ftudy, read books, drink in knowlege, and learn wifdome, when their instructors have it not to furnifh them? Ignorance can not deviate into fence, or dullnefs into wit; 'tis the lov of knowlege in parents or the fence of their own difficiency¹ that moves them to instruct their children. Now thofe people are fo far from believing that their ignorance is a defect, that they glory in it, value themselves upon it; and I once heard a gentleman of a good eftate fay that to be above all accquirements was the uttmofst accomplifhment of a man of fortune; that he ought to follow Nature in all the plain roads of her meer intitutions; that, for a gentleman, to go out of her way was but like a man of wealth amaffing treasure, whereas he can be no richer, let his additionall thousands be as many as they will.

This wretched phylofophy however espous'd ferves, in my opinion, for no manner of ufe but to crowd the world with fools of fortune; and indeed it is to this extraordinary logic that we owe the generall ftupidity of the age, which is the fubject of this prefent complaint.

However, were this all, I fhould fay no more than that it is fo, and tell you the occafion of it; but that it fhould ftill go on, that in this enlightn'd age, when polite learning is fo much in vogue, and fo many, how juftly I will not enquire here, pretend to it; that it fhould go on, I fay, in fpite of example, and entail that fame ignorance and obftinacy upon the next age: this is unfufferable.

One

¹ MS. *deficiency*.

One would think, if it was nothing elce but that learning is a little more in fashion than it us'd to be, education should be so too. But it must be confest that fact is uncertain, at least to me it is so; there is indeed a kind of a noise about polite wit, and men being masters of science and of learning, and raising their fortunes by their being so.

That some gentlemen by their parts and understanding, whether natural or acquir'd, have rais'd their fortunes in this age of craft and corrupcion, may be true; but I denye that this is a testimony of the men of fortune and the heads of families being any wiser and farther taught in generall than their ancestors, or any better learned. 'Tis rather the contrary; for how should the beggarly and mercenary part of mankind acquire wealth and get estates by their wit and cunning, if the men of estates, the antient families, and great fortunes, were not the dupes who are impos'd upon and mannag'd, as we see 'tis under the other that this mannagement prevails? And were the nobility and gentry of this kingdom¹ universally men of learning and parts, as they are of fortune, high birth, and honour, they would never be influenced, led, overrul'd, bought, or sold by any set of states-men or politicians in the world.

This is but a hint; let them take the coat who fit the measure of it. 'Tis thus far to my purpose: if the younger brothers are to liv by their witts, let them do so honestly and make the best of it, but let the elder brothers have the same share of learning and witt given them with their estates as the other have to raise estates by. I believ the first would keep their estates better than they do, and the last find it less easie to rise by bribery and corrupcion.

The wretched defeccion in some ages we have gone
through

¹ MS. K—.

through, the bying and selling their country, their libertyes and priveleges in Popish dayes and party-making dayes, what has it been owing to but the mercenary spirit among the poorer gentry¹ and the stupidity and ignorance of the rich?

There could be no danger of the polititians breaking in upon the libertyes and establiſh'd priveleges of this free nation, if the nobillity and gentry of Britain, who are the bulwark of those libertyes, were, as they might all be, men of learning and men of wealth.

Want of learning makes them easie, indolent, manageable, thoughtless, and extravagant. Want of learning makes them incapable, breaks their œconomy, and exposes them to a thoughtless luxury; the consequence of which is reduccion of estates, necessitous circumstances,² and even beggary; and the naturall consequence of that is being subject to all manner of corrupcion, easily purchas'd for parties and faction, and by pensions and places to betray themselves and their country, and giv up all to the crafts-men of the Court.

It is the felicity of the present age that we live f. 64 b under a Government that desires no frauds, that has no corrupt views, no tyrannick designs to carry on, no destrüctiv ends to answer; if it were otherwise, the miserable indolence and ignorance which we now see our nativ country labour under, and some of our gentlemen of the best, most noble and antient families abound in, nay, be vain of, and affect a kind of satisfaction² in, would giv us but a mellancholly prospect for the safety of our posterity.

From hence I insist that it is of the uttmost consequence, if possible, to put a stop to the manner of bringing up our gentry in stupidity and ignorance, without the advantages of education and without polishing the parts and capacities Nature may have given them, that

¹ MS. *G . . . y.*

² Abbreviated in MS.

that the next age, what ever this is, may be furnish'd with some helps, some aid and assistance from their own fence to see into the depths of those sons of Hell who would debauch and corrupt them.

To inforce this part of my reasoning, I also insist upon the following observations as maxims in nature, which we may see confirm'd in practise every day.

✓ 1. That want of learning and polite education in the nobility and gentry of England makes them be neglected and, as it were, lay'd aside in the managment of public affairs, when knaves and politicians happen to be in trust, mercenaryes and screw'd up engins being made use of in their room.

2. It makes them easie and blind, and not able to see themselves slighted and neglected, as they would otherwise do, and consequently to resent it.

3. It makes their resentment of less value where it is met with, the number of those that have the fence to see and resent being so small, and their intrest consequently small in proporcion. Let any man look back to the figure the barons of England made in the reigns of King John, Henry III., and other princes of those times, and compare them with the ages of a few reigns pass't, and let them tell us if the English gentry were to be mannag'd by Prime Ministers and politicians then, as they have been since, and what was the end of such favourites who ventur'd to make the attempt.

4. The weakness of the parts, the defect of the understanding, and the want of erudition, which is so much the fashion among our gentry has been the true, if not the chief, reason of their present poverty and bad circumstances,¹ lessening their estates and ruining their fortunes.

5. Their want of learning being the cause of their luxury

¹ Abbreviated in MS.

luxury and extravagance, and that luxury reducing them to necessitous circumstances,¹ those necessities bring² them into a readyness of being corrupted, brib'd, and drawn in by parties to espouse those intrests for money which at other times they would abhor, and which are ruinous to their country's liberties and to their posterity.

6. Ignorance is an enemy to temperance, to frugality, to honesty, and to the practise of all morall vertues. In a word, for want of learning a man of quality, however great, noble, rich, powerfull in his intrest and his estate, is render'd unquallify'd for the service either of himself, his family, or his country.

7. Ignorance exposes the gentlemen not onely to the ribaldry and jest of the Courts and of the politicians, but makes tools of them, makes them engines and instruments for the use of the mannagers on all occasions, and even in their worst designs upon the liberties of their country as above.

N.B. Innumerable examples of this might be given *f. 65.* in the times before the Revolution. What has been since we have no room to speak of at this time of day.

It would be endless to undertake a generall colleccion of all the consequences of this want of education among the gentlemen of England ; and yet if nothing should be said to it, how shall we bring the gentlemen now labouring under the misfortune of it to a temper capable of rectifying the error ?

I shall add, therefore, two or three things, which I think are very material, and which will certainly weigh with the gentry³ even of this age, if they please to consider them, and but measure themselves upon the square with such other men as Heaven has plac'd upon a level with them, I mean other gentlemen of quality and

¹ Abbreviation in MS.

² MS. *brings*.

³ *G.*

and fortune as they are, and who differ from them in these particulars onely.

1.¹ The want of learning and educacion places them below even their inferiours, and renders them despicable every where, even at home and among their very servants.

2. If these uneducated gentlemen should think of coming up to London, appearing at Court, or looking out for buisness (as that is called), whether by choice or upon any family disaster, as the best may be subject to such things: if they have no letters, no learning, they can never recomend themselves to any thing.

3. If they should, by intrest and favour, be able to obtain any thing, of what use can it be to them? They can execute no office suitable to their quality; they can fill up no post of honour either for the Government or for their private concern. The favourite may give them a compliment; but how shall such a person answer it? Can he go thro' the office of a Secretary² of State or a Secretary³ of War, a paymaster of the Navy or Army, a Commissioner of Trade⁴ and Plantations, or the like; or to come lower, to a Commissioner of the Navy, the Excise, or the Customs? All these must be men of letters and men of figures. They must be men of learning and languages; or what are they fit for? The country gentleman can do nothing among them. It is one of the most honourable parts of a person of quality's character that he is fitted for the service of his country, fit to be a Privy Counsellor, a Secretary³ of State, a Lord⁵ of Trade, or any other place in the administration or the household; and what figure must such a gentleman make in any of these publick posts that has no educacion, no literature, no knowledge of languages, of history, or of the world!

It

¹ No number in MS.

² MS. *Secret.*

³ MS. *Sec.*

⁴ MS. *T.*

⁵ MS. *L^d.*

It is true, I am to be answer'd, as above, in a way of rally, that the gentlemen we are speaking of are above all these things: they scorn posts and places, those civil badges of human drudgery; the private station is the post of honour, and an hereditary possession the best pension; that they are kings of their own and governors of themselves; that we may see all the Ministers of State and favourites of almost every reign making their court to them, inviting them up, and caressing them upon every occasion, desiring to make use of their interest, and if they find it practicable, wheedling with them to side in with their Party.

If by their sway in the country and their interest in the towns, of which sometimes they have several that are their own, they are, in spite of bribery and corruption, chosen members of Parliament, what tricks, what artifice, are used to bring them in-to business, as 'tis modestly call'd! If they happen to be above 'em, out of the reach of art, and that neither money or flattery or honours and titles will make any impression, how are they reckon'd dangerous, and how are they fenc'd against as men of importance, and how are the courtiers in the utmost concern, least such men as these should make themselves known, get a Party in the House, and oppose the managers in their great affairs of . . . , &c.!

But bring all this to the case in hand. It is true that this is often so where the country gentleman is a leading man, either in the place where he dwells, or in the house, and when they find him capable of great things. But then, who are the men, what are the gentry that are thus rendered considerable? that are *f. 66.* the terror of Court parties and the envy of the politicians? what character do they bear, and what foot do they stand upon in the country where they live?

Giv me leav to say these are not the ignorant, the
illiterate

illiterate, the weak headed, uneducated gentlemen we are talking of, but they are, generally speaking, men of fence, men of learning, that kno' the world, that understand the intrests of their country, and if they appear in public, giv the states-men room to take umbrage at their growing capacities.

They are not the men of pleasure, bred up to the dogs and the game, that wallow in their wealth and kno' nothing but to liv at home and enjoy that surfeit every day with their pleasures, and are onely sick for want of variety; who rolling in a kind of naturall indolence are unactiv for meer want of some thing to do, who rise in the morning to go to bed at night, and whose whole histry is fum'd up in that distich:

*They're born, they liv, they laugh, they know not why;
They sleep, eat, drink, get heirs, grow fat, and dye.*

These are the country gentlemen indeed, but these are not the men I speak of; these are not the formidable, dangerous things that, as King Charles¹ II. said of the Country Party, were men of importance and very considerable in the Common Wealth, for they could make kings think and keep courtiers honest.

These are not the leading men, that carry a party with them where e're they go, whose vote is a noun of multitude, and, as was said of Sir H., he was call'd No. 50 when ever they mencioned him in cover, that is when they talk'd of him, but did not think fit to name him; the meaning was that when ever he voted he had 50 more that follow'd him, let him take which way he wou'd.

No! No! Those gentlemen I speak of are not as the man call'd No. 50, but as the 50 that blindly voted after him, and as he voted right or wr . . g.

Fortunate ignorance! that so often fall in with honest
leaders;

¹ MS. *Cha.*

leaders ; but how unhappy is it for their country, when these gentlemen are misfled, as is but too possible and has been too frequent !

How miserable is that nation that is represented by men who, in a body, are to be led by a few, if that few guide wrong ! who go up honest but ignorant, who continue allways the last (ignorant), but are onely the first (honest), as they fall into good or bad company ; yet how many such have in time past (now—Heavens be prais'd for the change—'tis quite otherwife) been trusted with the fate of their country, and how sad is the fate of that country which is thus represented !—but that by the by.

Of¹ these gentlemen or such as these I met with the following passage from one of their own number. A certain person was employ'd to draw up a case (^a) for some merchants, who having set up a particular manufactory in the country applyed to their masters, the House of Commons, then sitting, for some particular priveleges necessary to them for the carrying on the buisness they were engag'd in and which they alleaged was a prodigious improvement to trade and an advantage to the whole country.

In order to explaine to the gentry the great service *f. 103.* the undertaking would be to the nacion in generall, the propofall gave a calculation of numbers that were employ'd by them on severall occasions,² as 15000 families³ in the copper mines in Cornwall and Devon, 10,000 families in digging and carriage of coales in another county, so many thousand upon another work in another
part

(^a) So they call the papers drawn up by such as have petitions depending in the House of Commons, and which are to make good the allegacions of their petition.

¹ This passage, beginning *Of these* and ending *to the whole country*, as well as foot-note (^a) are struck out in MS.

² MS. *occasion*.

³ MS. *families*.

part of England, and so on, till they made it up 150,000 families, then reckoning 8 to a family they multiply'd the number by 8, which made up the foot of the account be a million and half, which was all cast up in figures very regularly and exactly at the bottom of the propofall.

In this form, the scheme was drawn up, printed, and deliver'd to the gentlemen to read and consider of it, in order to obtain their favour and vote, when the case was to come upon the carpet.

But in a day or two, when the printed memorial came to be read, a certain gentleman, a M . . . , who was in the intrest of the petitioners and had stirr'd for them among his fellow representatives,¹ came to them in a great passion and with a mouth full of hard words, calling them f . . ls for offering such a paper as that to the House.

In a word, not to enter too far into the particulars for the sake of public fame and of who it was that rais'd the objection, I say, in a word, the paper was not legible, and the poor petitioners were oblig'd to be at the charge of printing it over again in words at length, after having been reprimanded very warmly by their said friend for their impudence in so much as supposing that gentlemen would give themselves the trouble to read their figures into words.

Accordingly the paper was reprinted, and instead of 10,000 it was said at large ten thousand, and in stead of 150,000 one hundred and fifty thousand, instead of 1,500,000 was printed at large one million five hundred thousand, and so of the rest; this being done the presumption of the first paper was pardon'd, the gentlemen were good friends again, and the petitioners carry'd their point.

It is indeed very rude to accost gentlemen in an
illegible

¹ MS. *representatives*.

illegible or unintelligible character and a language they don't understand, and therefore to fill a paper with long rows of unites, tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, and the like, and present it to men who never learnt that way of telling noses, how preposterous must it be! The merchants petitioners were therefore very much in the wrong and had they lost their cause by it, they might have thank't themselves; for that indeed they ought to have known better.



CAP. V.

f. 66. *That it is not to late to put a stop to this national defect of learning and that the gentlemen of England, generally speaking, may in a great measure retrieve the loss of their education by a little voluntary applicacion ; and an account of some proper and very easie methods, for the doing it I have heard.*

f. 101.



HAVE heard some nice people observ that pride was a necessary virtue to mankind and the happiest man in the world is the proud man. The nocion may have some remote truth in it, but then it wants explanacion ; for it is a satyr in it self, and points at the very case I am speaking of. It grants that the gentlemen are uneducated and ignorant and wretchedly untaught. The cause or occasion of this they say was, at first, pride, which was so far a vice as it appear'd in scorning the schools, hateing instruccion, despising languages and learning as mean and mechanick things below their quallity. There I say pride is acknowleg'd to be a vice, a child of the meer Devil without any disguise.

Now if the man was fencible of the defects of his education, he would be miserable to the last degree, say these criticall enquirers ; would curse his parents that should have been his instructors, curse the hour he was

was born ; and, sick of his despicable life, perhaps, would hang himself out of it. But here his pride steps in, and it saves his life, keeps him from the knowlege of his misery, keeps the fence of it from his heart, perswades him he is happy, and makes him like a man in Bedlam dance in his chains ; perswades him to be vain of his ignorance and to value himself upon his being above all improvment ; that he is a prince, nay a king in his mansion house or pallace, who has all learning and all knowlege in pension under him ; that schollars are onely bound to his service and usefull to him on particular occasions, as interpreters are to princes and to ambassadors, so that he is still great and happy even in his ignorance ; that his imperfections are no imperfections to him : and all by the meer consequence of his pride, which is thus far a virtue to him.

But to pass these speculacions and to leav them as we find them : The want of knowlege and instruccion, let our pride insinuate what it will to the contrary, is certainly an infelicity in life, especially where the depravity is rooted and the case rendred incurable ; but I am of a quite differing opinion as to the circumstances¹ of the thing. I am far from looking upon the defeas as incurable, and there the notion of their pride being a vertue is all sunk and lost at once ; for the pride is a delusion not a vertue, as lunacy is a dilirium in the brain, showing things in a false and borrow'd light and in a differing situacion from what they really are.

The want of learning, the deficiency of education is a diseas. 'Tis a deprivation of knowleg, a weakning of the understanding, a distemper in, or rather an accident upon, nature. But I enter my caveat against the pacient's being given over by his phyisitians. *Nil desperandum* : as in other distempers, while there is life there

¹ Abbreviated.

there is hope, so in this disease of the understanding,
f. 102. while there are brains there is hope. If the youth to
 be taught has been indeed an idiot; if the defect is in
 nature and he has no genius, no power to receive in-
 formation, that's quite another case. Then if he had
 had all the education the world could give, he would
 have come out the same original block-head that he
 went in; and it is equally to no purpose to talk of re-
 trieving it in such a person when he is grown up.

But what is this to the case before us? This is not
 the condition of our gentry. Idiotism is none of the
 defect. Our gentry are not what we call born fools.
 There may be some natural incapacity, but that is
 not the national defect. They have generally natural
 powers, but the grand deficiency is want of erudition,
 want of teaching, want of the helps of art to cultivate
 the soil and improve the head: and this makes me say
 as before, *Nil desperandum*. The case is all retriev-
 able; the disease is to be cured. If there is but a stock
 of head it may be all recovered. If there is but a spark
 in Nature the fire may be still kindled. There are
 methods of instruction to be found out which are
 neither below the quality of a gentleman to make use
 of, or unfuitable to his years, suppose him to be a
 man grown: for a man is never too old to be made
 wise if capable of receiving and retaining the impres-
 sions of learning; and yet I am not for sending them
 to school in their adult state, and putting gentlemen at
 30 or 40 years of age to learn their accidence. I
 shall propose nothing unbecoming them as men or as
 gentlemen. They shall be their own preceptors, their
 own tutors, and themselves shall instruct themselves.
 What little helps they shall stoop to make use of shall
 neither be below them or irksome to them, but such as
 shall make it all a pleasure and the most delightful
 thing in the world.

The

The first thing to be enquir'd into in this case is this : is the gentleman fencible of his deficiency ? Is he wise enough to know he is ignorant, or is he weak enough to think himself wise when he is really otherwise ? In a word, is he a Czar of Moscow¹ ? Is he humble enough to be taught and fencible enough of his want of learning to desire to learn ?

Here indeed lyes the whole weight of the case. If the man is bloated up with pride, that worst of folly, that vice of the brain, which some, as above, would have call'd a virtue ; if he is not fencible of his weakness, his being unqualified for the company of men of sense, unfit for publick appearance or public employment, or to serve his country or his family ; if he is one of that sort indeed as the Scripture says in another case, *There is more hope of a fool than of him* : such a creature is inflexible and harden'd ; 'tis to no purpose to meddle with him, or so much as to talk to him of it ; as a sick person that refuses physic is, in the consequence of that obstinacy, to be esteem'd as incurable as he in whom the disease is too strong for the medicine : the very obstinacy is a disease worse than the fever and the man dyes because he will dye.

On the other hand, if he is fencible of what other men have that he wants, and above all, that it is not too late to recover the loss ; if he bears the defect of his understanding as a distemper and is willing to trye all possible remedies for a cure : such a man, in my opinion, may be cur'd ; that is, in a few words, let him not repine at his not being a scholar and not being well educated. He shall yet be a man of learning in spite of all the time lost, and that without the fatigue of the school, without hammering seven year at the Latin and the Greek, and without tormenting, loading, and overloading his memory with the meer dead

¹ MS. *Mosco*'.

dead weight of words. On the contrary, he shall master all the needfull study of science without it. He shall judge of true learning by the strength of nature ; reason shall be his guide into the study of Nature as nature shall be in the pursuit of his reason, and he shall be a man of knowlege with ease and delight.

I shall lead you into a more imediate understanding of what I mean, by giving a short history of fact in a conversation upon this subject with a person who is the living exemplificacion of the thing, whose story please to take partly from his own mouth in the following relation.

f. 103. I was talking of this very seriously once to a gentleman who was under the misfortune of this hereditary ignorance or defect of learning, and was none of those who valued themselves upon it. On the contrary, it was *the very plague of his life*, and, as he said, it *tormented the very soul within him* ; I repeat his own words. He us'd to say he was entr'd a block-head from his cradle, and his mother doom'd him to be a coxcomb before he knew whether he had wit enough for the character or no. "And resolving," said he, "that I should be a fool of one sort or another, she anticipated my want of brains by my want of education ; that if I would not be a fool by nature I should have the happynefs of being so by art ; and if I did not want brains, I should want teaching how to use them, which was the same thing ; for," adds he, "*idem est non esse et non apperire.*"

"But harke ye, Sir," said I, "if you were never taught, how come you to understand Latin ?"

"O," says he, "as a true penitent abhors the state of wickednefs he liv'd in before his repentance, and can't be said to have repented if he does not, so it was impossible for me to be, as I tell you, plagu'd and tormented with the reflection upon the ruine of my education, and not do something to recover it."

"I am very glad to hear you say so," said I, "because I know severall gentlemen in the same condition; but they all sit down and despair. They say 'tis too late; they are too old, the prime of youth, which is the time to learn, is past, and there is no room for it; and so they sit down with their ignorance and deficiency till it grows habitual."

"Why, then," said my friend, "they are habitual fools, and I had been so to this day if my father had lived."

"How, your father? Why, was the old gentleman against your learning?"

"He was one of them that," said he, "thought there was no great occasion for it in a gentleman, that it filled their heads with great thoughts, wandering ambitions, aspiring desires, and sent them abroad from their estates and from their tenants and neighbours, where they might live merry and safe, happy and beloved all their days, and made them run into the armies, to hunt after honour and be knocked off their head for a feather in their caps called fame; or to Court, where they turned harpies and blood suckers upon their country and learnt all the vile ways of receiving a little for giving a great deal, selling their country and coming home beggars: and thus the old gentleman was for keeping his son at home a fool for fear of his going abroad to be a knave."

"Well, Sir," said I, "but you have lived at home, and yet know the world as well as those that have been abroad. You have been taught nothing, and yet you know every thing. You are illiterate, and yet you talk Latin and French and Italian. You call yourself a fool; pray, what kind of a fool must we call you?"

"Why, I'll tell you my case," says he. "My father died young, and I came to the estate at two and twenty, a young untaught, half educated thing. I
might

might indeed be said to read and write, and that's all ; for I did both very ignorantly and forrily, and farther than that I did nothing and knew nothing, and what was still worse, I was as well pleas'd with my ignorance as my father was ; and haveing often heard his discourses upon that subject I began to talk the same language, till I scorn'd learning, despis'd books, thought my self above teaching ; in a word, I was compleatly come up to Solomon's standard of a fool :—*I had no delight in understanding.*

“ It happen'd one day that being at the wedding of a neighbouring lady, a near relation of mine, who was marry'd to a truly complete young gentleman and of a good estate, I observ'd there was a great deal of good company and a great deal of mirth, and I was as gay as my neighbours. The wedding was kept at the ladye's mother's house, who was the widdow of a barronet, and her son (the heir) being under age, the family remain'd in the mansion house, which was very large and fine. As there was mirth enough among the young people, so there was chat and discourse among the graver gentry, some of one kind, some of another ; but in all their little companies as they seperated into small committees in the severall parlours and gardens and walks of the house, as usuall, I observ'd almost all the discourse, as well among the relations of the lady as others, was taken up in the extraordinary character of the bridegroom, what a fine gentleman he was.

“ The young ladys admir'd him : he was so handsome, so genteel, danc'd so fine, so charming a shape, talk'd so finely, and the like ; the older ladies lik'd him : he was so modest, so courteous, had such a character for being so obliging to the poorest and meanest of his neighbours, so good to his tenants, so universally lov'd. They all concluded the lady would be compleatly happy ; and indeed she was so. The young gentlemen

gentlemen were exceedingly pleas'd, too, but they had the least to say of him, for he was above their class; and one of them in the height of good humour said, 'I like my new cousin wonderfully, but d . . . him, he is too learned for me, he is fitter to be an arch-bishop than a spoilt man; and yet he's a good humour'd, merry fellow too; he's fit for any thing;' and at last it came out: '*Would I had half his sence*, tho' he had half my estate!'

"Among the graver gentry—for there were severall *f. 104 l.* of them, too—it was the same thing in a more solid degree. They had his character up in a strain suitable to themselves, and particularly one set that I was plac'd among a good while, being all my neighbours and gentlemen I was acquainted with, talk'd very particularly of him.

"These came into all the sentiments of the younger people, viz., that he was every way a complete gentleman; but a certain clergyman that was among them, a man noted for his learning and of a very good character also, said he had had a great deal of conversation with him. 'I was never more delighted,' said he, 'in any gentleman's company in my life. He has travell'd over some of the world in person and over all the rest in books. He speaks five or six languages; particularly,' said he, 'he talks Latin and French as if they were his native tongues; he is perfectly acquainted with the customs and manners of all the nations he has been in; and yet his discourse is so modest, so grave, so free from a noisie rattling way, which is so common in the world, that 'tis a pleasure to be in his company.'

"Another gentleman, who is call'd a *virtuoso* in our country and is also a noted physician, he took it from the minister. 'It is so, indeed,' saies he, 'he is a finish'd scholar. I never met with so much wit, so much solid judgement,

judgement, and so much polite learning in any gentleman of his age in my life. We were talking phylosophy the other day with him ; why he has treasur'd up a mafs of experiments of the nicest nature that I ever met with ; he has the Phylosophic Transfactions almost by heart, he has brought something in his head from every place where he has been, and has a vast memory ; and then for astronomy, sayes the doctor, 'he talks of the starrs and of the planets as if he was born there, and of their distances, mocions, and revolutions, as if he had travell'd with them and knew his way back again.'"

"This was a new comet, sure, among the country gentlemen," said I ; "but didn't such a character make the untaught gentlemen dislike him, or did they envy him?"

"I don't kno' what they did," said my friend, "but I'll tell you what I did. I look'd upon him with a kind of surprize. I saw every thing in him that they said of him with a great deal of pleasure ; but I went away with a proporcion'd chagrin upon my mind, and all the way it run in my thoughts : 'Ay, this is education, indeed, this is learning,' said I. 'Here my father might see whether learning fits well upon a gentleman, whether a gentleman is above being well educated. Why, if I had been taught, all this might have been my character as well as his.'"

"These were just refleccions," said I ; "but to what purpose? Seeing your fate, as you say, was determin'd, and that you were pass't attaining those things which were onely to be had by an early liberall education, you ought not to carry it too far, and make the want of what you could not obtain embitter the comforts you had possession of and you ought to enjoy with as much satisfaction¹ as you can."

He return'd warmly upon me, and told me I was quite

¹ Abbreviated.

quite mistaken.—“All my estate,” added he, “would have been nothing to me, nor did I enjoy one hour’s satisfaction, till I entred into measures for recovering what I had so miserably lost, tho’ it was not lost by my own fault, nor should I have enjoyd myself to this day, if I had not persued the measures which were happily dictated to me by a learned man of my acquaintance to recover in some degree the cursed darkness of my uncultivated youth, and gain’d some little light, at least more than I had before.”

“Why,” said I, “you were a strange convict, you were a profelitte to learning by meer miraculous inspiration; the impression was strook at a heat; you were a meer Czar of Muscovy, a soul inspir’d with a true afflicting sence of your want of knowlege, and resolv’d at any expence to retriev it.”

“I was so indeed,” sayes he; “and you shall find, if *f.* 105. the story is not too long for your pacience, what course I took with my self, and what success I had.”

“I shall be very glad to hear it,” said I, “upon many accounts. Perhaps, I may make use of it to the advantage of some other gentlemen of my acquaintance, who are under the same misfortune and with as little satisfaction¹ as you were, but do not see their way out of it, nor I for them.”

“I’ll make the account as short as I can,” sayes he, “but the transaccion was tedious, and tho’ I hate a long story I fear you will think it so; let me make it as short as I will. To begin then where I left off, I spent two or three dayes at home tormenting my mind about this young gentleman and talking to my self of what a sot I was; how I was not fit to be seen in his company, or quallify’d so much as to converse with him. I knew that I was oblig’d, in regard to my neece who he had marryed, to giv him an invitacion to my house

but

¹ Abbreviated.

but I thought I should be ashamed so much as to talk with him."

I told my friend I thought he was too humble, that he lay'd himself lower than he had any reason to do, and that, tho' he was not taught much and had not the advantage of education which others had, yet he was far from a fool; that as he need not be ashamed to go into any company, so no company would be ashamed of him.

"Well," says he, "you did not know me then. I am but so now," added he, "but I was a down-right country blocked then, with this exception only, viz., that I believe I thought of my self as I ought to think; for all I thought of my self I knew of my self, and none knew it better. I, in short, knew nothing better than that I was a fool and knew nothing."

"And," said I, "that was a foundation to build all upon that was to be known; for there is no learning any thing till we are humble enough to see we want teaching."

"Well," says he, "but to go on, my niece came and din'd with me, and her husband with her, and I kept them there a week; for indeed I was so charm'd with the young gentleman, that I could not part with him. He discours'd of every thing with such an agreeable plainness and clearness, and with all was so sincere in every thing, so modest, so humble, and yet so strong in his reasoning, that it was all musick. I was charm'd with him, and, in short, he charm'd all the gentry about; for severall came to see me while he was there, and all were delighted with him."

"Sir," said I, "you give a character of him that would tempt a philosopher; can't you give a friend the felicity of seeing such a morning star, such a genius as hardly ever was seen before."

He answer'd, if I would come down into the country, he would go and make him a visit and carry me with him;

him ; which some time after this we did, and I found all he said to be very just with respect to the gentleman ; but that is not to our purpose, unless it be to show how glorious an embellishment learning and bright parts are to a soul when they meet in the person of a gentleman ; but of that by itself. I desir'd him to go on with his story, which he did thus.

"After he had been with me some dayes," says my friend, "I had by many tokens perceiv'd I might with safety open my self to him. I ask'd him one morning to take a walk and told him I wanted to have a little chat with him ; so we went out together into the garden, and I unbosom'd my self to him without any reserv.

"'Coufin,' said I, 'tis the misfortune of many, nay, of most gentlemen in this part of the country, and I doubt not but you have taken notice of it in other places, that we—for I may name my self among them—are brought up in ignorance, are taught nothing. Our fathers thought it below them to put us to school, and so indeed we are below all learning ; as we are taught nothing, so we kno' nothing, but live like the bear in the forrest, wild and not to be tam'd, rough and not to be smooth'd, course and not to be polished.' f. 106.

"He began to compliment me about putting my self among them ; he could not denye but it was so in generall, but would have made an excepcion for his uncle.

"'No, no, nephew, don't flatter me,' sayes I. 'Tis even so with me in common with my neighbours. My father had that curst notion that is so universally receiv'd, that learning is a kind of mechanisme, that 'tis useles to a gentleman, and that to go to school is below his quality ; and so we that are eldest sons are bred for fools by the meer course of Nature.

"'But,' saies I, 'my notions' of things, however ignorant, are different from many people ; I can not think

¹ MS. *nocon*.

think but that, tho' we were not made schollars when we were boys, we need not go block-heads to the grave. Is there nothing to be learnt now, because we learn't nothing then? Is there no learning in the world, cousin, but Greek and Latin?'

"He answer'd after some very modest apologies for talking so to me: yes, there was certainly a great many good things to be learn't that had no great relation to the tongues; that, 'tis true, the tongues were usefull helps, but that there were severall things very needfull for the knowlege of a gentleman that allways, or at least generally, were taught in English, and that some of the greatest masters of them in their time had not so much as understood Latin or Greek.

"Well, nephew,' said I, 'now you come to me. Pray then, without any ceremony or appology, be so free with me as to tell me what those things are; what is the properest method to apply to them, and which of them are proper for, and most usefull to, a gentleman; for since I have not been taught what I should have learnt in the time of it, I am resolv'd to learn what I can, tho' out of season.'

"Sir,' said my nephew, 'it is true that custome has prevail'd so at our Universities in favour of the tongues, that all the publick exercises in the schooles are perform'd in the learned languages, but it is acknowleg'd there is not an absolute necessity of it other than that of preserving the use and knowlege of those tongues in the schollars that perform them. But 'tis certain that a course of phylosophy as well naturall as experimental, as also of the mathematicks, of astronomy and of most of the sciences properly so called, is to be taught in the English tongue, if the tutor or master please to read his lectures in those sciences in English to his pupils.'

"Say you so, nephew?' said I, 'and is there then no such tutor to be found that will read his lectures, as
you

you call them, in the English tongue? and may I not make my self master of some degree of knowlege in the world, tho' I do not meddle with Latin and Greek.'

"'Yes, Sir,' sayes he, 'without doubt, you may; besides there are some things, as I said before, which are never taught in Latin or Greek, or very rarely, and which are in themselves noble studyes and very agreeable to the genius and temper of a gentleman, extremely usefull to him in conversation, and suited to his inclinacion as a man of quality, and especially as a man of sence.'

"'Pray, what are they, cousin?' said I.

"'Sir,' sayes he, 'the first and most valuable is the use of the globes, or to speak more properly the study of Geography, the knowlege of mapps, as also so much of Astronomy as may give him a theory of the universe, particularly as far as relates to the motion and distances of the heavenly bodies, the eclipses, conjunctions, revolutions, and influences of the planets, comets, fix'd stars, and other phaenomena of nature.'

"'May all these be learned in English?' said I.

"He return'd: 'Sir, as I said before, they are very seldom taught in Latin except in the Universities, and there it is done so meely as it was the antient custome, and I think none of the best customes neither.'

"'Why so, nephew?' said I.

f. 107

"'Because, Sir,' said he, 'it seems to confine the knowlege of those usefull studies to the schooles and to the men of letters exclusiv of other men, whereas abundance of men do, and more might, understand them who are not train'd up at the colleges, and whose fortunes would not admitt a liberall education; and confining these most necessary branches of science to those onely who can read and understand Latin is tying up knowlege to a few, whereas Science being a publick blessing to mankind ought to be extended and made as diffusiv as possible, and should, as the Scripture sayes

fayes of facred knowlege, fpread over the whole earth, as the waters cover the fea.'

" 'I think you are very right there, nephew,' faid I, 'and in particular your difcourfe is very agreeable to me ; for according to your notion, then, I may learn all thefe things ftill, tho' I don't go to fchool again like a boy.'

" 'Sir,' anfwer'd my nephew, 'fo far from going to fchool again like a boy, that thefe things are feldome learnt till we are men ; and as the feafaring men are generally well acquainted with thefe ftudies, let any one examine how few of them underftand Latin or Greek ; nay, the very Mafters that teach them do not allwayes underftand thofe tongues and have no occafion for it, as I think I hinted before ; and if Latin and Greek was neceffary to a ftudy of Aftronomy, Navigation, and, in generall, feverall other branches of the Mathematicks, what would become of Navigation in generall ; for where is there a fea-faring man in twenty that underftands Latin, and yet fome of them the compleateft artifts in the world.'

" 'Well ; but, coufin,' faid I, 'you intimated, I think, that there were two reafons why you thought the cuftome of the Univerfities in confining their fchollars to read all the fyftems in the Latin tongue was not the beft method : pray, what was the other reafon ?'

" 'Truly, Sir, my other reafon was becaufe it throws the Englifh tongue fo entirely out of ufe among them, excluding it from all the Colleges, and out of every courfe of their teachings, that many gentlemen come from the Univerfity excellently well skill'd in the fciences, Mafters, nay, criticks, in the Oriental languages and in moft parts of ufeull learning, and can hardly fpell their mother tongue, at leaft 'tis frequent that, tho' all their performances are at laft to iffue in the original mother Englifh, yet being loft out of all their fchool readings

readings and out of all the lectures of their tutors and all their own performances, they have no stile, no diction, no beauty or cadence of expression, but are so dull, so awkward and so heavy in delivering themselves, that 'twould be a shame to hear one of them declaim in English, who, perhaps, would gain an universall applause if it were perform'd in the Latin tongue.'

" 'This is still o' my side, cousin,' said I, 'and 'tis a very great satisfaction to me to hear it; for by your account of the thing 'tis very possible for me, tho' not a boy, and tho' I have no Greek or Latin, to be master of some parts of learning, at least; if I can not be a schollar I need not be a fool.'

" 'Sir,' says my nephew, 'I am of opinion that the world has a very wrong notion of what they call a schollar. I think 'tis a mistake that a man can not be call'd a schollar, unless he be master of all classick learning. There's Mr., a gentleman who you know very well, and we all think him an extraordinary person.'

" 'Why,' said I, 'is not Mr. a schollar? I wish I were as good a schollar as he, I would desire no better a stock of learning. Why, I have heard him discourse with you, nephew, I thought it was in Latin.'

" 'No, Sir,' says he, 'he does not speak Latin at all. He was taught Latin, and understands it tollerably well to read it, but not enough to discourse in it.'

" 'What was it then you talkt?' said I.

" 'It was Italian, Sir,' said he.

" 'Well then,' said I, 'he understands some tongues. Will nothing make a man a schollar but Latin and Greek?'

" 'Some tongues, Sir,' said my nephew, 'why, he f. 109. understands almost every thing but Latin and Greek, and yet we will not, we must not, allow him to be a schollar.'

" 'Every

“ ‘Every thing,’ sayed I, ‘pray, what do you call every thing? It seems they won’t allow him to understand any thing.’

“ ‘Why, Sir,’ return’d he, ‘I think I may say every thing that’s needfull to be known and that makes a man fit for the conversation of the best men, for example.

(“ ‘1. He speaks French as fluent as the English. He speaks Spanish and Italian and something of the Slavonian, for he has convers’t very much among the Poles and Muscovites, and he has also some thing of the Portugese : and yet he is NO SCHOLLAR.

“ ‘2. He is as good a proficient in Experimental Philosophy as most private gentlemen and has a nice collection of rarities : yet he is NO SCHOLLAR.

“ ‘3. He is a master in Geography, has the situation of the world at his fingers’ ends. You can not name any country in the known part of Europe but he can give you extempore an account of its situation, latitude, rivers, chief towns, its commerce, and, nay, and some thing of its history and of its politicall intrests : yet he is NO SCHOLLAR.

“ ‘4. He is as well skill’d in all astronomicall knowledge, the motions and revolutions of the heavenly bodies as most masters in that science, that ever I have met with, and I have heard severall men of great judgement in those things say the same of him : but he is NO SCHOLLAR.

“ ‘5. He is a master of History, and, indeed, I may say he is an universall historian, especially of all the histories that are written or translated into the English tongue, and those that are not, he has read them in French or Italian : but he is NO SCHOLLAR.

“ ‘6. For his own country he is a walking map ; he has travell’d thro’ the whole island, and thro’ most parts of it severall times over ; he has made some of
the

the moſt criticall remarks of ſeverall parts of it, ſo that he could not be charg'd, when he went abroad, to have known much of other countryes and nothing of his own as is the juſt ſcandal of moſt Engliſh travellers: and yet this man forſooth is NO SCHOLLAR.')

" 'This is extraordinary. Pray then,' ſaid I, 'what do you call a ſchollar?'

" 'Truly, Sir,' ſaid my kinfman, 'I am aſham'd almoſt to tell you what they call ſchollars. (A man may be a ſchollar in their ſence and be good for nothing, be a meer pedant, a Greek and Latin monger. I think our meer ſchollars are a kind of mechanicks in the ſchools, for they deal in words and ſyllables as haberdashers deal in ſmall ware. They trade¹ in meaſure, quantities, daſtyls, and ſpondæſ, as inſtrument-makers do in quadrants, rules, ſquares, and compaſſes; etymologies, and derivations, prepoſitions and terminations, points, commas, colons and ſemicolons, etc., are the produſt of their brain, juſt as gods and devils are made in Italy by every carver and painter; and they fix them in their proper ſtations in perſpectiv, juſt as they do in nitches and glaſs windowes.')

" 'You make ſtrange fellows of them, indeed,' ſaid I.

" 'I make nothing of them,' ſaid my nephew, 'but what they are. They are meer pædagogues, they ſeem to be form'd in a ſchool on purpoſe to dye in a ſchool.'

" 'They are good for linguists,' ſaid I, 'are they not? or, I ſuppoſe, for interpreters and tranſlators?'

" ('No, indeed, Sir,' ſayes he, 'they are ſcarſe good for interpreters; and as for tranſlators, they are not fit by any means, for there is not one in twenty of them underſtands Engliſh, they have been ſo ſwallow'd up in Latin and Greek, Hebrew² and Syriac and Arabick, and value themſelves ſo much upon their exotick phraſes, crabed

¹ T.

² Heb.

crabed expreffions, and harfh unfonorous words, that they wholly difregard the Englifh, in which they ought principally to ftudy to be plain and intelligible.’

“‘Is it poffible, coufin,’ faid I, ‘they fhould underftand all languages and not their own?’

“‘I do not fay, Sir,’ faid he, ‘that, that they don’t underftand it; but they have no ftile, no fluency, no polite language in their expreffion; nay, they fcarfe spell it right. You would be afhamed to fee the Englifh fome of them write; nay, fome of them are fo fenfible of it that they are afhamed of it themfelves, and therefore hardly write at all.’

“‘What’s the meaning of all this, coufin?’ faid I, ‘what is to be done, then?—May a man be a fchollar and a fool too? That’s ftrange. Who would be a fchollar then? Why, my father was in the right then to make a blocked of me the eafyefst way, if it would have been fo after hard ftudy; this way’s the beft a great deal.’

“‘Sir,’ answer’d my kinfman with a fmile and abundance of good humour in his face, ‘you are too hard upon your felf. (No queftion but learning is a beauty and an ornament to the very foul; but the fineft jewell ill fet can not fhine. Thefe men miftake the end and defign of learning. I think they let their very fouls ruft under the weight of thofe particular materialls which are given to polifh it. Learning is an ornament to a gentleman; but like Saul’s armour upon little David, ’tis a meer cafe of iron to a cynic, morofe, four temper; it makes ’em ftalk about and go ftiff as if they were fit for nothing but to be fcrew’d up into Greek and Latin like a fkeleton in a prefs, to fcare folks and be frightfull.’)

f. 108. “‘Well, coufin,’ faid I, ‘but how muft we underftand the extream? What is learning then? and who would be a fchollar to be fo much as in danger of this madnefs?’

“‘Sir,’

“‘Sir,’ said he, merrily, ‘we must distinguish between a man of polite learning and a meer schollar: the first is a gentleman and what a gentleman should be; the last is a meer book-case, a bundle of letters, a head stufft with the jargon of languages, a man that understands every body but is understood by no body, a creature buried alive in heaps of antients and moderns, full of tongues but no language, all fence but no wit, in a word, all learning and no manners.’”

“‘But what then should I be, cousin,’ said I; ‘for I would fain be some thing that I am not.’

“‘He answer’d, ‘I see nothing you want, Sir, but a little reading.’

“‘I differ from you there, cousin,’ said I, ‘I doubt you are mistaken; ’tis a great deal I want. I would be glad to read a little.’

“‘Perhaps, Sir,’ said he, ‘’tis not so much as you imagine. I distinguish, as I said, between a learned man and a man of learning, as I distinguish between a schollar and a gentleman. You have a polite education as a gentleman already.’

“‘An ignorant education, cousin,’ said I, ‘do you call that polite?’

“‘No, Sir,’ said he, ‘all that you call ignorance would vanish presently with a little application to books.’

“‘What can I do,’ said I, ‘and what will reading do for me that can read nothing but English.’

“‘Reading, Sir, in English,’ said he, ‘may do all for you that you want. You may still be a *man of reading*, and that is in a large part of the fence of that word, a *man of learning*; nay, it is the more gentlemanly part: you may in a word be a *gentleman of learning*.’

“‘Your remark I believe is very just, nephew,’ said I, *f. 109.* ‘about a gentleman and a meer schollar; but it puts a new thought into my head. Is it possible for me to furnish my self with all that treasure of knowledge as
you

you say Mr. is master of, who they say is no schollar: tho' I kno' nothing of Greek and Latin? for I am no schollar in the groffest sence of that saying.'

f. 108. "Yes, Sir,' said my nephew, 'I make no doubt of it.'

"You begin to put new life into me, cousin,' said I, 'why, I desire to be no better a schollar than Mr. All the gentry in the country admire him, the most learn'd and best educated among them! Even the clergy-men say he is a most accomplish'd complete gentleman. I wish I was but half such a schollar.'

"Sir,' said my nephew, 'he had it not by education?'

"What do you mean by that,' said I, 'not by education?'

+line
"No, Sir,' said he, 'he knew nothing, comparatively speaking; he was bred at home being a gentleman; they thought it a dishonour to send him to school, just as you are pleas'd to say of yourself.'

"But how did he get it all then?' said I.

"Sir,' said my nephew, 'he never began to look into books till he was 20 year old at least, and then, the story is too long to tell you, he fell upon a voluntary study, and with some very few helps from a chaplain of his father's, who was a man of learning and had travell'd abroad, I say, by his assistance and his own application, he became what now we see he is: and you may without doubt do the same and more if you please.'

f. 109. "I was surpris'd at his discourse. A secret joy spread over my whole soul. I was quite another man than I was before, and I resolv'd from that moment that if it was in nature, if I had any morall powers, any capacities, I would put them to the uttmost stretch; that I would learn every thing that was to be taught and get every thing that was to be got, that I might no more pass for a blockhead in company and

and look so much like a fool, as I thought I did and as I concluded others must needs think of me too.

"The next morning after this, I took my nephew aside again, and ask't him if he thought a man might be found out that was capable of putting me into a method for those things we talkt of the night before, and that would undertake it.

"He told me he did not doubt but he might hear of such a man either at London or at the University, tho' he did not yet kno' of any; but he seem'd to doubt my part as to the application.'

"Don't doubt that, cousin,' said I, 'for I'll lock my self up for seaven year for it, if that be needfull. *f. 110.* My time is of no value to me till I know how to employ it better than I do now, and I am sure I can't employ it better now, than to learn how to employ it better here after. Besides, I shall hang my self or be wishing to do it every day to liv in this state of primitiv nature, when it is evedent I may, by a little application, bring my self out of it.'

"Thus, Sir," said my friend, "I have given you an account of the first act of this comedye. I doubt I have wearyed you with the length of it."

I was most agreeably surpris'd with this little history, and afterwards when I had some conversation with the young gentleman, his nephew, upon the same subject, he told me a great many particulars more of their discourse, which his own modesty would not suffer him to mention and which are too many and too long to be repeated here.

Upon the whole it was happily propos'd by his nephew; for seeing his uncle, my friend, so much in earnest and that, as he said, the thing it self was so much to his reall advantage in the prospect of it, he was resolv'd he would not be wanting in promoting so good a design; so he went up to London and afterwards

wards to Cambrige, where he found out a grave gentleman eminent for learning and one of a very good character for his moralls, and who was an excellent tutor, but out of employment and not in very good circumstances.¹

This man he brought home to his uncle, who, first discoursing with him upon the design of his taking him and finding he approved of it and thought it practicable, soon agreed with him; and he was first brought to the house on the pretence of setting his books in order, and so was call'd his library keeper. Tho' the gentleman, my friend, had no great quantity of books before, sufficient to be call'd a library, yet by the direction of his new tutor he soon furnish'd himself with books proper for his study, and had in less than two year a very good collection, not chosen after the manner of the person mention'd before, but carefully and skilfully chosen as his reading and his proficiency in study call'd for them.

He allow'd this library keeper very handsomely at his beginning; but as he found him not onely a capable man for his business, but a most agreeable person in his conversation and a worthy good man many other wayes, he added to his allowance and to his conveniences also; for he took him and his wife (he had no children) into his family, allow'd him £100 per annum salary and a table furnish'd from his own kitchen; and afterwards having built a seperate apartment for his books the library keeper had a very handsome apartment for himself, wife, and a maid servant, and the gentleman's family chaplin eat with them.

Here he shut himself up four houres every day: that was his stated time, and to which he confin'd himself; besides diverting himself at spare times with reading history and such other matters as best pleas'd his
fancy

¹ Abbreviated.

fancy and as were recommended to him by his library keeper.

This course he held four year and a half, during which time he studied so hard and with such application, and his teacher mannag'd his instructions with such success, that in short he might be said to master the sciences. He run thro' a whole course of Phylosophy, he perfectly compass'd the study of Geography, the use of the maps and globes; he read all that Sir Isaac Newton, Mr. Whiston, Mr. Halley had said in English upon the nicest subjects in Astronomy and the secrets of Nature; he was extremely delighted with Sir Isaac's opticks and all his nice experiments, separation of colours, and other writings; for what he could not come at in English, his laborious teacher translated for him in lessons and abridg'd lectures, so that in a word in those 4 yeares and half he was a mathematician, a geographer, an astronomer, a philosopher, and, in a word, a compleat schollar: and all this without the least help from the Greek or the Latin. However not content with all this, the last half year of his studyes his diligent tutor form'd a compendious method to teach him Latin, and made such a progress in it, that *f. III.* the gentleman, my friend, began to understand it tolerably well, could read and understand any Latin author pretty well, and by talking it constantly with his tutor, as it were by rote, had learn'd it as a speech as well as learnt the rudiments and rules of grammar.

But at the end of this successful progress, his painful library keeper dropt off and dyed, to his inexpressible affliction and loss.

He was so kind to the memory of his tutor, who he allways call'd *father*, that he continued his wife and her maid in his family, as she was before, allow'd her a table as in her husband's time, and £20 a year for cloths and her maid's wages, expences, etc., till after about eight year

year more the widdow delivr'd him of that beneficence and dyed too.

This small history I have mencion'd here and been the more 'particular in, that all our gentlemen who are, as many pretend to be, fencible of the defects of their educacion and of the unhappyness of their paternal ignorance may see, if they are sincere in their concern about it, a fair way to recover the defficiency of their educacion, and may soon let the world see that a gentleman may be a schollar without Greek or Latin.

Nor is it absolutely necessary that every gentleman, however desirous he may be of recovering him self in the improvement of his knowlege, should pursue it with so much application and in such a laborious manner as my friend did. He was, indeed, an extraordinary example, and is so recommended ; but then he had an insatiable thirst after the thing call'd learning, and was resolute in the pursuit of it, unwearyed in his study and never satisfied with knowing, and exceeding delighted also in the successs.

I must add here that it would be a happy encouraging step towards the improving young gentlemen in science and in the study of all the liberall arts, as they are justly call'd, if they were taught in English and if all the learned labours of the masters of the age were made to speak English, to be levell'd to the capacities of the more unlearn'd part of man-kind, who would be encourag'd by that means to look into those happy discoveries in Nature, which have¹ been the study and labour of so many ages.

I have often heard gentlemen complain that the Universities seem to lock up the knowlege of Nature, as the Papiests the cup in the Eucharist, from the use of the vulgar, as if they were afraid the unlearned part of the world should grow wiser, and those that kno' but
little

¹ MS. *has.*

little for want of instruccion should be farther inform'd by the help of reading.

(Knowledge can never be too diffusiv, nor too many men drink at her streams.

The French are particularly to be applauded for this ; they have made almost all the learned labours of the Antients their own by translating them into their own language) and teaching all the philosophy and wisdom of both the first and last ages in their own tongue to the infinite advantage as well as pleasure and satisfaction of the people who desire knowledge.

(The learned languages, as they are properly call'd, are no other way valuable to us in the article of knowledge than as they give us the reading of the antient historys and of the wisdom and the philosophy of the Antients, which is written in those languages, as Plutarch, Herodotus, Xenophon, Homer, and others, in the Greek ; and of Ovid, Horace, Virgil, Sallust, Livy, and abundance of other authors of the Antients ; and, in a word, the labours of all the primitive fathers, doctors of the Church, and other authors either religious or philosophick, who have written in those languages.) Had the learning of the Romans and Grecians been taken from other antient authors, as ours is from them, and been to be studied in other languages, how few learned writers should we have had especially among the Romans. (All the authors we learn from, all the poets, philosophers, physicians, and historians, wrote in their mother tongue and in the very language they learnt to speak and spell in, whereas we are fain to learn the language of the author first and then take in his sense and understanding.)

Now if those writings which are the labours of the learned were handed down to us in our own tongue, if the philosophy, the geography, the astronomy of as well the antient as the modern writers were made

familiar to us, and all liberall arts and sciences taught in our mother tongue, (it must be granted men might be made schollars at a much easier expence as well of labour as of money than now, and men might be term'd truly learned and yet kno' nothing of the Greek or the Latin.)

It is said, indeed, that a man that will be a schollar ought to be able to examine the translations of all books with the originalls, to see that he is not imposed vpon by the translator ; that no man of sence cares to read a translation that can read the original ; and in some things it may be very well to be able to do so.

But is it worth any gentleman's while, as Oldham says, to go seaven year to the Grammar Bridewell (the school) and there beat Greek and Latin, as whores beat hemp ? Is it worth all this labour to make a man able to read and compare the originals, when he can read and may depend upon the justice of the translation ?

(If a man may be a good Christian, tho' he can not compare all the translations of Scripture which are the foundation of his Christian knowlege, with the originals, and trye all the various readings with the text ; that is, in a word, with out being able to read the polyglott
f. III. b. Bible : why may he not be allow'd to be a schollar who has gone thro' all the sciences, pass't a course of naturall and experimentall phylosophy, and read over all the works of the best masters in those studyes, tho' he has not read them in the originals but in the translation onely.)

It is said of the learned Mr. Cambden that, in order to quallifye himself for his great Itinerat or Survey of England, he found himself under an necessity to study and make himself master of the old Welch or British tongue and also of the Saxon, and to be able to read both the British and Saxon character. The reason was plain : there was no translation of all the British proper names

names of persons, places, and families, no authors who had rendred those words into English or into Latin ; for he wrote his *Brittannia* in Latin.

Had there been any translation of those things into Latin or English, Mr. Cambden would never have bestowed the fruitless labour to learn a language which after his book was finished he knew would be of no use to him ; and yet Mr. Cambden was no less a scholar and a learned man before than he was afterward.

We have, no question, a great many learned men among us, and whose reputation for learning suffers no diminution, altho' they can not read the Chaldee paraphrase¹ of the Bible, or the Arabic or Syriac copies of it, or tho' they can not read the Muscovite, which is the Sclavonian language, or the Chinese, which is worse to find out than all the rest.

Suppose a gentleman whose character as such is undisputed, who thinks it worth his while to study natural philosophy, to dip into the abyſſe of wisdom and artfull knowledge call'd astronomy, or any other of those happy studies which, being master'd, so justly denominate a man a scholar or a man of a lib'rall education ; I say, why must this gentleman take the drudgery upon him of learning that language meerly to quallify himself for the study, when he knows that the books which are needfull for understanding that science are already made English, and that he may as well learn every branch of science in English as in Latin.

Upon the whole, the study of science is the original of learning ; the word imports it. 'Tis the search after knowledge. Latin and Greek are indeed great helps to make the work easie, all the antient learning being found in those languages, which are therefor call'd the learned languages.

But doubtless, Latin and Greek onely propagate² themselves

¹ MS. *paraphrase*.

² MS. *propagate*.

themselves in it, seeing by the help of universall translation it is possible a diligent man may, tho' with some difficulty, furnish himself with all necessary knowlege without them.

The knowlege of things, not words, make a schollar. If you are to be no phylosopher, unless you can read the phylosophy of the Ancients, and read it too in the languages they were written in, then translation is out of doores, is all labour lost, and learning and phylosophy is all lockt up in Latin and Greek, as money in an iron cheft, which no man can come at without the key.

My friend who studyed thus hard for four year and a half, that according to Solomon he might be truly said to seek for Knowlege as for silver and to search for her as for hid treasure, laugh'd at all this.—“Why am I no schollar?” sayes he, “seeing I have hunted out Learning in all her deepest and darkeft recesses, and have found her. I have made all the Greek and Latin that is extant in the world subservient to my inquiry, and, by the help of my never failing library keeper, have had them translated and abridg'd for me, and so have made them my own, and now,” sayes he, “I am a
f. 112. schollar in the strictest fence.” And so without all doubt he was. It is true, this gentleman follow'd the enquiry after Wisdom with an unusuall applicacion ; he pursued her with an unwearyed dilligence, and he conquer'd the difficulty by the extreamest labour both of him self and his faithfull instructor.

He had also a treasure in that honest and dilligent assistant. He was a fund of all kind of learning ; he was to him a dictionary for the Latin, a lexicon for the Greek, an oracle in all difficultyes, and an interpreter on all languages ; and as he often said, he was a fountain of knowlege to him, for the streams were all his own ; and as he had him entirely to himself, so he thought he could not buy him too dear.

The

The pains that worthy instructor took with him and for him ; the dilligence he us'd, to find out proper and suitable subjects to please, as well as instruct him, that he might make his study a delight to him ; his labour in translating and abridging things which were not to be found in the English ; in a word, the sincerity and success of his endeavour were such, and the gentleman was so sensible of it, that he lov'd him as a father and call'd him so, as long as he liv'd, and thought he could never do enough for him ; and that made him, as I have said, take him and his wife and maid servant into his family, and when he built his library, build him an appartment and furnish it and allow him a seperate table with the chaplain onely as his guest, all which was over and above his first agreement ; for at first he onely allow'd him an hundred pounds a year, and his lodging was in a farmer's house hard by.

(I must take notice here that I do not by this example intimate a contempt of the learned languages or discourage any gentleman from sending their sons to the schools so early that they may make themselves masters of those languages in the season of them ; and it is not to be denyed but that 'tis greatly to their advantage to be able to read the antient as well as modern labours of the greatest men in the languages in which they were written.

But the example is brought that those gentlemen who have had the misfortune of being neglected when they were young, and, whether by the pride of being thought above it, or by the indolence of their instructors, or by what ever accident, have lost the opportunity of that help to erudition, may yet see that they are not entirely lost to the world and to themselves by the loss, but that with application and taking proper methods they may retrieve the great disadvantage they are under, and may still master the most
usefull

usefull parts of knowleg and be yet good schollars to all the ends and purposes of learning, notwithstanding¹ the losf they have sustain'd.)

It is evedent by this example that all the sciences may be taught in the English tongue; all phylosophy whether of the Antients or Moderns may be, nay, much of it allready is, written in English; and many English gentlemen, men of learning and of the greatest capacities, who have first publish'd their labours in Latin have thought fitt to translate them into English them selves and publish them again, for the making knowlege the more extensiv and doing a generall good to the world. Thus we see Mr. Cambden's *Britannia*, Mr. Burnet's *Theory of the Earth*, and some other valuable things written first in Latin and made English by their authors being sencible that there might be men of learning sufficient for the reading and understanding those very learned discourses and accounts of things, which yet might not be masters of the Latin so as to be able to read them in the originall with fluency and ease.

This is a testimony to the world that a man may be phylosopher enough to understand, and judge of, the whole theory of the earth, which I might in that particular respect call the theory of Nature, and yet not be acquainted either with the Latin or the Greek; and this is the reason of my quoting Mr. Burnet. If he had not been assur'd of this, and that his work would be profitably understood by many judicious readers who could not understand it or perhaps not read it in
f. 113. the Latin tongue, he would not have taken the pains to have written it over again in English, and he gives a very good account of the reason of it in his introduction to that elaborate work.

In his dedication to the late King William he has
this

¹ Abbreviated.

this extraordinary expression, which is directly to my present purpose and fully confirms my notion, that men may be schollars without Latin, and phylosophers without Greek. His words are as follows; having first briefly describ'd the subject he had written upon, he adds:

"These¹ things, Sir, I propose and presume to prove in the following treatise, which I willingly submit to Your Majesty's judgment and censur, being very well satisfied that if I had sought a patron in all the list of kings, your contemporaries, or in the roll of your nobles of either order, I could not have found a more competent judge in a speculation of this nature. (Your Majesty's sagacity and happy genius for Natural History, for observations and remarks upon the Earth, the Heavens, and the Sea, is a better preparation for inquiries of this kind then all the dead learning of the schools.")

If then a naturall sagacity and a happy genius quallifies a man for observacions and remarks upon the historys of Nature and the systems of the Heavens and the Earth, then these things may be enquir'd into without the helps of languages and the use of tongues, and a man by the helps of Nature may be a compleat master of Naturall Phylosophy, of Naturall History, and in a word may be really a phylosopher without the helps of the learned languages, and may be truly call'd a schollar without Latin or Greek.

In his introduccion, as above, he has also this farther expression, which agrees so exactly with the thing I am reasoning upon, that I could not omit the quotation. Like him I am far from depreciating the labour of the schools or running down the value of learning; but neither must we be such bigots to the languages to
wrap

¹ This extract, ending with *learning of the schools*, is in a different handwriting.

wrap up all learning in their swadling cloths and determine the world to the bondage of their tyranny or to irretrievable ignorance. 'Tis the hight¹ of pedantry to confine learning to a *rule* and *scale*, out of the square of which nothing is to be known, or to insist that nothing that is known by meer nature should be acknowleg'd valuable in the world. Mr. Burnet is very particular to this purpose. Thus this work being chiefly philosophical, reason is to be our first guide.

"Neither² does it so much require book-learning and scholar-ship as good naturall sense to distinguish true and false and to discern what is well proved and what is not. It often happens that scholastick education like a trade does so fix a man in a particular way, that he is not fit to judge of any thing that lyes out of that way, and so his learning becomes a clog to his natural parts, and makes him more undocile and more incapable of improvements and new thoughts than those that have only the talents of nature; as masters of exercise had rather take a scholar that never learn'd before, than one that hath had a bad master, so generally one would rather choose a reader without art, than one ill instructed with learning but opinionative and without judgment. Not that it is necessary they should want either. Learning, well placed, strengthens all the powers of the mind. To conclude, just reasoning and a generous love of truth, whether with or without erudition, is that which makes us most competent judges of truth and makes it easie and plain to us."

From this truth and from so great a man some just inferences naturally arise in the case before me; (1) that as a meer knowledge of the tongues is not the sum or substance of all learning, so without lessening the value of that knowledge at all I am to add that the mind may be receptiv of much knowledge and be capable of true

¹ MS. *hight*.

² This quotation, too, is not written by Defoe.

true learning, and even larger degrees of it, as well in Natural Phylofophy as in many other branches of Science, without what Mr. Burnet very juſtly calls the dead learning of the ſchools.

2. That our gentry are in the wrong, who place their ignorance in generall to the account of their fathers in neglecting their education and not ſending them to ſchool; let the reaſons of that neglect be what they will for that: in ſpite of all that neglect and omiſſions they have it in their power to inſtruct themſelves in all manner of ſcience and humane knowlege, the meer ſimple knowlege of the tongues excepted.

All the Phyloſophy whether of the Antients or of the Moderns ſpeaks Engliſh to them; all the Mathematicks are taught in Engliſh; all the Geography, Geometrie, and the navigating arts ſpeak to them in Engliſh; many of the beſt ſyſtems of Natural Phyloſophy are publiſh'd in our mother tongue. What excuſe is the not being able to read ſome men's works againſt their reading others which are as good? What occaſion have they for the originals when they have unexceptionable tranſlations? Let them but go thro' a courſe of Philoſophy, a courſe of Aſtronomy, Geography, Hiſtory, etc., as far as the Engliſh tongue will carry them; and let us ſee whether their knowlege of Phyloſophy and all the other ſciences will not denominate them ſchollars, or whether any man after that will venture to call them men without learning, ignorant, and untaught. I conclude therefore that, notwithstanding¹ all the unhappy notions of the gentry and ladies in England that their ſons muſt not be ſent to ſchool, yet the eldeſt ſons in England, who are generally the ſufferers in this caſe, have no room to complain that *f. 113 b.* they are ignorant and untaught, becauſe, if they are ſo, it muſt be their own faults and none other.

It

¹ Abbreviated.

It may be true that their fathers and mothers deny'd them the *dead learning* of the tongues and that they were not taught as they should and ought to have been when they were boys, and they have no knowlege of Latin or Greek ; but Science and Phylosophy are the studyes of men, not of boys, neither are they any part of the learning of the grammar schooles. There's no time left for those things, nor is the los of the learned languages any just obstruccion to the acquirements of these kinds. The knowlege of Philosophy may be obtain'd in a due method without them.

I once was acquainted with a tutor of unquestion'd reputacion for learning and who was himself a critick in the learned languages and even in all the oriental tongues, as the Syriac, Chaldee, Arabic, Hebrew ; and none could object that he did it for want of skill, but being senceible of the great defficiency I have been speaking of, and how our gentlemen were dropt, as it were, out of the conversation of the learned world, he set up what he call'd an English Accademy.

He first published his just complaint against the school learning and their locking up, as I have call'd it, all science in the Greek and Latin, compelling all their pupils to learn the sciences in those languages or not at all, and to perform all their public exercises in Latin or Greek ; by which means many young gentlemen, even the greatest and best proficient in learning, as they understand the word, came finish'd, as they call'd it, out of their hands, and yet had no tast of the English tongue, could neither express themselves fluently upon any subject or write elegantly in their mother tongue.

To rectifye this great mistake of the schools, he set up his little Accademy, wherein he taught Physicks, that is to say, Natural Phylosophy, with a system of Astronomy as a separte science, tho' not exclusiv of the generall system of Nature ; he taught also Geography and the
use

use of the maps and globes in a seperate or distinct class: in a word, he taught his pupils all the parts of accademick learning, except Medicine and Surgery. He also had a class for History, ecclesiastic and civil. And all this he taught in English. He read his lectures upon every science in English, and gave his pupils draughts of the works of Khieľ and Newton and others, translated; also he requir'd all the exercises and performances of the gentlemen, his pupils, to be made in English.

He had a class for eloquence, and his pupils declaim'd weekly in the English tongue, made orations, and wrot epistles twice every week upon such subjects as he prescrib'd to them or upon such as they themselves chose to write upon. Sometimes they were ambassadors and agents abroad at forreign Courts, and wrote accounts of their negociations and recepcion in forreign Courts directed to the Secretary of State and some times to the Sovereign himself.

Some times they were Ministers of State, Secretaries and Commissioners at home, and wrote orders and instructions to the ministers abroad, as by order of the King in Council and the like. Thus he taught his pupils to write a masculine and manly stile, to write the most polite English, and at the same time to know how to suit their manner as well to the subject they were to write upon as to the persons or degrees of persons they were to write to; and all equally free and plain, without foolish flourishes and ridiculous flights of *f. 114.* jingling bombast in stile, or dull meanesses of expression below the dignity of the subject or the character of the writer. In a word, his pupils came out of his hands finish'd orators, fitted to speak in the highest presence, to the greatest assemblies,¹ and even in Parliament,² Courts of Justice, or any where; and severall of them
come

¹ I.e., *assemblies*.

² *P.*

feverall languages, as I may say, to perfeccion, and yet kno' nothing of the Latin or Greek : are none of these to be call'd schollars ?

I had occasion to be in the company of two merchants, even while I was writing this tract ; (1) the one had liv'd 20 yeares in the northern and north east parts of Europe in the Courts of Russia and Poland, and he spoke the Russian, the Sclavonian, and Polish tongues as now in use in Muscovy, Poland, Tartary, and Hungary. Also he spoke the High Dutch, and that in the severall dialects of Prussia, Danemark, and Sweden, and with all he spoke French as the common speech at Court all over Europe, and, lastly, he spoke English as his mother tongue : and yet this gentleman had no Greek or Latin.

2. The other was what we call a Turkey merchant, and had liv'd at Aleppo, at Constantinople, and at Grand Cairo. This gentleman, for such he was by blood, tho' by his profession a merchant, he spoke the Arabic in all its severall dialects as spoken by the Turks at all those places ; for their language is certainly a generall Syriak and Arabic jargon, neither of them seperately. He spoke also Italian, French, Low Dutch and English, but neither Latin or Greek, except such Greek as the people call'd Greeks now speak in the Morea and at Zant, where he had also liv'd some time, but which, as he said, did not deserv to be call'd by the name of Greek.

Now, neither of these men in the language of our times were to be call'd schollars or men of learning, and yet they had seperately, and much more together, *f. 115.* such a fund of knowlege of history, of persons and things, of the intrest of nacions, and of the languages of nations from one end of the known world to the other, that not a man of learning in Oxford or Cambridge but would have been delighted in their conversation,

tion, and would have esteem'd them as living treasuries of knowlege and learning.

But such is the vanity of the times, such the humour or usage of the day, that nothing but classic reading is call'd litterature ; Homer and Virgil and Horace and Ovid, Livy and Salust, Cicero and Tacitus, these are, and such as these are, in our modern acceptacion, are the founders of knowlege, and no man is learned without them ; nay, unless he is master of the very letter, has them by heart, and can bring them out peice meal and in fragments in all his discourse.

It is the vanity of this perticular kind that has brought it into a proverb to the scandal of our nation, that an Englishman has his mouth full of borrow'd phrases, that he is allwayes borrowing other men's languages and quoteing other men's sentences in Latin, but saies none of his own ; not an author writes a pamphlet, not a poet a copy of verses, no, not to his mistress, tho' she knows nothing of the matter, but he draws a bill upon Horace or Virgil or some of the old chiming train, and talks as familiarly of them as if they had been brought up together.

And what is there in all their classic learning which is not made English or made French, by which, tho' the beauty of the verse is not, and indeed can not, be preserv'd, the substance of the author is convey'd to us either expressly or complexly and really and substantially, so that the gentlemen that can not be said to have a taste of them in the beauty of their originall languages can not however be said to be wholly ignorant of them ?

On the other hand 'tis evedent from what has been said, that science is generally unconcern'd¹ in them. A gentleman may go thro' a whole course of Phylosophy whether natural or experimental ; he may be a compleat
master

¹ MS. *un-cern'd*.

master of the History and Geography of the whole world; he may have survey'd the whole abyffe of learning and knowlege call'd the Mathematicks, and have searcht into every creek and corner of it, and yet have never open'd a book or read a line among the classicks.

He may have studyed Divinity, practical and polemick, div'd into all the sacred mysteries, and made himself master of all the controversies, judg'd of all the herisyes and doctrinal errors from Ebion and Cerinthus down to Toland and Emlin, and yet not have been concern'd among any of the Roman and Græcian heathen writers, nor have been able to have look'd over the Polyglott, the Septuagint, or the Talmud.

All these things have been laboriously translated and faithfully rendred in the English tongue, and these translations and renderings have been so often and so dilligently revised and compar'd with the originals, that a dilligent and understanding English reader can not be said to be at a loss in understanding them and may be properly said to be thoro'ly master of the true meaning of them.

It would be very hard with us all if it might not be said that a good Christian may fully understand the Scriptures, which are the greatest and best and truest originall of all religious knowlege in the world, without being skilled in the originall Hebrew and Greek, in which those sacred books were first written. If then a man may be learned in all the wisdom and knowlege of God so as to be a complete Christian, and that without the knowlege of either Latin or Greek, I see no reason to scruple saying he may be a complete philosopher or a complete mathematician, tho' he has no skill in the learned languages. f. 116.

The dilligence of the learned would hav chang'd this scene, and have made it possible by the helps of their labours and on the shoulders of their learning in translating

lating the antient and modern writings, that men may be really schollars and compleatly learned without knowing¹ the originalls by the meer reading and studying those translations. All that can be objected has been the fidelity of the translators and the justice of the translations, and this is to be answer'd for severall ways.

First, the character of the men as well for skill as reputation.

Second, the criticall examination they have pass't in every age.

1. The character of the men; and here without giving a list of the translators as well of the present as of the past ages, we may say their fidelity as well as their skill has this tryall, (viz.) that as they have been varied by severall hands, so they have generally agreed in giving the sense of the authors they have translated. What difference is among them is chiefly in the language of the translation, the English stile having been said to have² vary'd more between this age and the last 50 or 60 yeares than in a hundred yeares before.

I need not enter into particulars here or enquire into the differing manner of writing: 'tis too well known by men of learning; and this may have been the reason why most of the Roman and Greek authours have suffer'd the hardship of severall translations; and even those books which were translated very well, nay best, in the last ages, have been done over again in this, and that, as we suppose, greatly to advantage, as Virgil, Juvenal, Ovid, Cæsar, Sallust,³ Livy and severall others among the Latins, Plutarch, Herodotus, Homer, Seneca, Josephus and others among the Greeks.

But in all those translations, tho' the translators have given us a differing taste of their wit, learning, and good language, and the latest are esteem'd the best, yet they all appear candid and genuine, giving the sense of the
authors

¹ MS. *knowing*.

² *have* is omitted in MS.

³ MS. *Sallust*.

authors sincerely according to the ordinary understanding of the times, nor is there any considerable variation among them in matters of fact, which shew that they all pursued the design of translators, honestly and uprightly.

Hence a man may be as well skill'd in all the Roman and Grecian history, to say nothing of the rest, by reading these learned authors as they are translated onely, as if he had been able to have examin'd them all by the originalls and had read them critically in the Latin and the Greek.

This being the case, then, no gentleman ought to throw up the point and grow desperate because he was not sent to school, as he ought to have been, in his childhood, and been made master of the learned languages in the time of it, seeing it is never too late; and he may still form his genius with the sublimest studies, and store himself with all the learning necessary to make him a complete gentleman.

If he has not travell'd in his youth, has not made the grand tour of Italy and France, he may make the tour of the world in books, he may make himself master of the geography of the Universe in the maps, atlases, and measurements of our mathematicians.¹ He may travell by land with the historian, by sea with the navigators. He may go round the globe with Dampier and Rogers, and know a thousand times more in doing it than all those illiterate sailors. He may make all distant places near to him in his reviewing the voyages of those that saw them, and all the past and remote accounts present to him by the historians that have written of them. He may measure the latitudes and distances of places by the labours and charts of those that have survey'd them, and know the strength of towns and cities by² the descriptions of those that have storm'd and taken them, with this difference, too, in his knowledge,

¹ MS. *mathematica*.

² MS. *be*.

lege, and infinitely to his advantage, viz., that those travellers, voyagers, surveyors, soldiers, etc., kno' but every man his share, and that shar but little, according to the narrow compass of their owne actings. But he recievs the idea of the whole at one view.

The studious geographer and the well read historian travells with not this or that navigator or traveller, marches with not this or that generall, or making this or that campaign, but he keeps them all company ; he marches with Hannibal over the Alps into Italy, and with Cæsar into Gaul and into Britain, with Belisarius into Affric, and with the Emperor Honorius into Persia. He fights the battle of Granicus with Alexander, and of Actium with Augustus ; he is at the overthro' of the great Bajazette by Tamerlain, and of Tomombejus and his Mamaluks by Selymus ; he sees the battle of Lepanto, with the defeat of the Spanish Armada with Drake ; with Adrian he views the whole Roman Empire and, in a word, the whole world ; he discovers America with Columbus, conquers it with the great Cortez, and replunders it with Sir Francis Drake.

Nothing has been famous or valuable in the world, or even the ruines of it, but he has it all in his view ; and nothing done in the world but he has it in his knowlege, from the seige of Jerusalem to the siege of Namure, and from Titus Vespasian to the greater King William : he has it all at the tip of his tongue.

Nor are these studyes profitable onely and improving, but delightfull and pleasant too to the last degree. No romances, playes, or diverting storyes can be equally entertaining to a man of fence ; nay, they make a man be a man of fence ; they give him a tast who had none before ; they teach him how to relish superior knowlege as he looks up to the heavenly bodyes, whose mocions he learns to understand in his astronomicall readings ; he is charm'd with the harmony of the
system

system and with seeing their direct, as well as retrograde motions conform exactly with the calculations of them by books.

When he sees the eclipses, conjunctions, and oppositions of the planets, those solemn testimonies of the verity of Astronomy, happen exactly in time and quantity, situation, and degree, I say exactly to the moment foretold by the artists, he is fir'd with desires of searching farther into the glorious circle of wonders, the hemisphere, the arch of which appears continually revolving in the most beautiful order, exactly as describ'd by his Ephemeris¹ and as he can read it upon the celestial globe.

He has the like delightful view of the terrestrial² globe when reading all the most antient, as well as modern histories of the world; he can turn to his maps and see the very spot where every great action was done, however remote either in place or in time. Every scene of glory is there spread before him, from the great overthrow of Senacharib's army at the gates of Samaria, or from the defeat of the Ethiopian army of a thousand thousand to the yet more well fought battles of Leipzick, Blenheim, and Malplaquet.

How agreeable a diversion is it to him to read the public prints with his collection of maps and charts before him, where he can see the British Squadron blocking up the Spanish³ Plate Fleet at Porto Belo, and immediately turn his eye and see another British Squadron, awing the Russian Navy at Revell and Narve, and they, tho' double in number, not daring to put to sea to succour the Spaniards.³ The next moment he has turn'd over a leaf, and the like chart presents Gibraltar to his view, and the Spaniards battering themselves to pieces instead of the town, and wasting their army in a fruitless, unskillful siege without so much

¹ MS. *Ephemeris*.

² MS. *terrestrial*.

³ S.

much as comeing near enough to draw a sword in the whole war. There also he sees another English Squadron keeping the seas open and convoying troops
f. 118. and relief dayly to the place and assisting that one small town in overmatching all the forces of Spain,¹ whether by land or by sea.

When armies march or fleets sail he can trace them with his eye, see all their motions, and some of them even before they are begun, can tell where they are to day, and make a probable judgement where they will be to morrow.

I might enlarge experimentally upon the delightfull search into naturall history and the rarities discover'd daily in the vegetativ world, like wise into experimental as well as naturall phylosophy the most agreeable as well as profitable study in the world.

All these things lye before him ; he may turn his head to them as he sees fit ; his having been abused in his child-hood and not having been sent to school may present nothing discouraging to him for these are the studies of men, not of boys. The ladies can not put him off of them by saying they are below his birth ; for these are improvements for gentlemen, not mechanicks, nay, even for the highest rank of men.

But to go farther yet, the inquiries and improvements of this kind are fitted for the brightest genius, the most clear understanding, the most discerning heads ; men exalted in their curious search after knowlege above the ordinary sort of people look into such things as these. The king himself might glory in the acquirement, nor is it beneath the dignity of an emperor to understand them.

How weak then is it for a gentleman to sit down in a state of ignorance and indolence, on pretence of his having lost his first teachings of the schools. These are
studies

studies not to be begun till those classic instructions are over, and may be set about and mastr'd, tho' those teachings had been wholly omitted.

I could giv many more examples of the success of these *Post Entries*, as they might be call'd, in learning, and of the easyness of gentlemen in making the happy attempt upon themselves: I shall however, for the present, content my self with what has been said, onely adding one thing, which I think is particularly remarkable and which may be depended upon, (viz.) that such voluntary students, such gentlemen, who thus being sensible of the deficiency of their education have applied themselves by a voluntary study to recover the loss, make a swifter progression by many degrees than those who are taught young and under the discipline of pædagogues and domineering masters, who think to drive Greek and Latin into them with a beetle and wedges, as men clear blocks, and who, in a word, spoil as many schollars as they make.

On the contrary, here, besides the difference of yeares, a man learns by choice, knows something of the use of what he learns, and more of the want of it, before he begins. He reads as hungry men eat, not with the gust, appetite onely, but with a fence of profit and under the anguish of necessity. He knows what it is to be without knowlege, and is eager to take it in; and what is still beyond all, he will be as eager to retain it.

'Tis a pleasure to teach those that make it a pleasure to learn; he that reads thus, teaches himself and learns from himself; an instructor has little more to do than to tell him what books he shall read, and answer such enquiries as he shall make. The gentleman that reads will necessarily instruct himself, he needs only a tutor like a *Lexicon Technicum* to be at his hand to resolve difficultyes, explain terms, and state the world to him as it comes in his way.

Let

Let him no more afflict himself, then, at the lost
 f. 119. houres of his child-hood. 'Tis a loss indeed and, as it
 were, a setting him back in point of time, and 'tis a loss
 of the tongues. Don't lessen it as if it were no injury
 to him ; but 'tis no such injury but it may be repair'd.
 He may recover the greatest and most fatal part of the
 loss ; he may master all the polite part of learning ; he
 is fully qualified for the study of Nature ; he may
 master all those branches of science in which reason is
 the guide and Nature the book ; he may, in a word, be
 every thing which a gentleman need to be, and know
 every thing that a gentleman need to know and that
 is necessary to deliver him from the scandal of being
 ignorant and untaught.

As to the advantages¹ which the meer knowledge of
 the tongues may be to such a gentleman so taught,
 they need take up none of our time here. There are
 several things which would recommend the use of the
 languages to us ; and if they were learnt in their season,
 it would be in its kind a great addition ; but to talk as
 if a man could have no complete knowledge without
 them is to carry their rate much higher than the
 intrinsic worth,² as a man may value his gold, at £10
 an oz. when 'tis not worth above four.

Nor is Latin and Greek of so high a price as it has
 been in the world of literature ; as when our American
 colonies were first discovered, the drugs, the furs, the
 sugars, nay, even the tobacco were of three times the
 value they are at now ; but by large importations and
 doubling the cultivation and bringing other plants and
 drugs from other parts, and which, perhaps, serve to the
 same uses, the rate is fallen, and they are not so esteem'd
 as before.

We find the Moderns begin to gain upon the Antients
 extremely, and some parts of knowledge shine brighter in
 English

¹ MS. *advantage*.

² *worth* not in MS.

English than ever they did in Latin. Our phylosophers have exploded the Ancients in many things, such as in the mocion of the heavenly bodyes,¹ the use of the magnet, and the improvements of navigacion, which are all modern, and severall other things; likewise the circulation of the blood in physickal experiments, and abundance of modern experiments not to be nam'd with the other; likewise the improvments in the mathematicks, fortificacion, incampments, intrenchings, millitary discipline, beseiging and defending towns, in all which and many other the knowlege and experience of the present age is infinitely beyond what ever went before them.

Now all these studyes are made in the English tongue, and are necessarilly to be receiv'd there, and in no other. Greek and Latin has nothing to do with it, nor are some of the best masters in these usefull parts of knowlege acquainted with them.

¹ Over *h. b.* is written *New Philosophy*.



C A P. VI.

*Of the gentleman's government of himself, his family
and fortune.*

I. Of the government of himself.

IF the gentleman we are treating of can not govern himself, how should we expect any good¹ œconomy in his household? how shall he direct his family or mannage his fortune? and why is it that we see so many good families sink in the world and both their estates and posterity suffer an irrecoverable decay but for want of this necessary thing call'd œconomy or good¹ government and manangement of the family? Where can the neglect or omission of it all lye but in the head of the family? Who we find too often letting the reins loose to his vices or at best to his pleasures, thinks it below him to mind his other affaires, either to regulate his family or to mannage and improv his estate.

Let us consider these three heads apart. *The gentleman's government of himself.* It must be confess't there is a great, I had almost said an universall, deficiency among our gentlemen in the government of themselves; their moralls and manners are deprav'd and vitiated in a manner hardly to be describ'd, at least not fully. Whether this generall depravity of manners

is.

¹ Abbreviated.

is more the cause of the defect of education or the consequence of it, is not easily determin'd ; but 'tis manifest that it works both wayes, tho' with different effects, as in the father 'tis the cause why the son is not well taught and instructed, and in the son 'tis the effect of his father's not instructing him.

First, his vicious, debauch't father omited the instructing or inducting his son ; the uninstructed, untaught son grows vicious and debauch't, because he is untaught and uninstructed in the wayes of wisdom and knows not the beauty and excellency of learning and of virtue. In a word, ignorance is the seed of levity, and a fool turns profligate by the meer deprivation of wit ; the weakness of his moralls derives from the weakness of his head, and he follows mean and scandalous vice from his meer ignorance of virtue and true wisdom.

In consequence of this, when he comes to have a family of his own, he does the same, and his heir succeeds to the mistakes as well as the estate of the family. The same increase of ignorance and decay of virtue follow from the same fund of naturall depravity. Thus vice begets ignorance, and ignorance nurses up wickedness in the meer course of things. 'Tis all cause and consequence, meer nature, and it can be no otherwise. The alternativ is as necessary, and succeeds to it self as naturally as light and dark, death and life ; f. 122. where one precedes, the other must succede, it can not be otherwise. How hard it is that Nature should thus tye us up to the fatal consequence that because I am a sot my son must be a fool ! If I am wicked and vile for my self, it is nothing but to my self, and when I am gone the world is well rid of me. But to think I should entail a descent of folly and vice, ignorance and wickedness, upon my whole posterity, that I should bring a race of fools into the line, and that they should go on cursing me, the great progenitor of all their wicked

wicked gradacions, and that there should be an¹ alternate succeſſion of fool and and knav in all my generations for a hundred ages to come : this indeed is very mortifying ; that I, becauſe I am indolent and debauch't, muſt beget an ignorant ſon, he not knowing better leaves his heir like his anceſtor, indolent and a deſpiſer of that learning he was never taught to value ; from which he runs on to the ſame exceſs of floth and ignorance that I was wrapt up in at firſt. Thus wickedneſs ſucceeds Hell ; and Hell, wickedneſs, take it which way you pleaſe.

f. 121. I might very profitably enlarge here upon the neceſſity the compleat gentleman is under in the government of himſelf, to regard his moralls and that the generall part of his perſonall conduct ſhould denominate him a man of virtue in meer compaſſion to his poſterity ; but it would be too tedious a digreſſion. Allow me, however, to recommend it with relation to himſelf perſonally.

It is a great miſtake to ſay that a profligate, vicious life is conſiſtent with a compleat gentleman ; virtue is ſo far from being below the quality of a gentleman, or even of a nobleman, that ſtrictly ſpeaking a man can not be truly noble or compleatly a gentleman without it ; and tho' I were to take no notice of religion in this diſcourſe, but confining my ſelf to thoſe we call morall virtues onely, yet the thing is true in the moſt abſtracted fence. A gentleman giving himſelf a looſe in all manner of vice and extravagance, what is he to be eſteem'd in life ? how can he be call'd a gentleman without making a juſt excepcion for his ill government of himſelf ?

We have frequent examples of this in the ordinary acceptacion of a gentleman, where nothing is more frequent than to ſay ſuch a nobleman or ſuch a gentleman

¹ MS. *a ſucceſſion alternate*, corrected to *a alt. ſucceſſion*.

man is a very fine person, has a thousand good qualities, but he is this, but he is that, mentioning some immorallitie, some impropriety, which he unhappily mingles with his character, and then they conclude, what pity it is that such a fine gentleman, such a noble person, such an extraordinary man should fully his character in such a manner. Perhaps, it is a mistress or two, perhaps an open professed atheisme, perhaps a habit of swearing, or that he is given to excessive drinking, perhaps violently passionate, or the like. His favourite vice is allways brought in as an exception to his character otherwise unspotted.

On the contrary, we never find a gentleman's being sober, modest, wife, religious, temperate, learned, virtuous, I say, we never find these brought in as exceptions against, but as ornaments of, and additions to, his character, and as things which in the universal opinion of mankind serve to illustrate and brighten his fame. Even the men of crime themselves, who want the virtues which adorn his character, will recognize the value and beauty of them in the virtuous gentleman, and frequently reproach themselves with the want of them, like Baalim wishing to dye the death of the righteous.

It must remain upon record in honour of the memory of the late Queen Ann that Her Majestie used to say she thought there was not a better lecture of morality to be read in the world, than might be read in the visible differences between the mere figure or appearance of a gentleman or noble-man of virtue and a rake of the same quality as they ordinarily shew'd themselves at Court, and that they might be read at first sight.

I must therefore lay it down as one of the most necessary accomplishments of a compleat gentleman that he takes an especiall care of his morals; that he takes good principles into his family as his especial favourites

favourites and domesticks ; that he guard his virtue with the utmost caution and care ; and that he never thinks it below him to be esteem'd as a man of modesty, sobriety and temperance, nor a man of religion too, as things without which his character will be allwise markt with an asterisme or * when it is mencion'd in conversation, having an exception allways attending his good name and allways mencioned with him in company.

f. 121 b. If the unhappy gentleman has been ill taught or untaught, the thing I have been representing as the first misfortune in his house and especially in himself, let him consider that defect as the first to be repair'd ; and he has this for his encouragement, that this part is to be recover'd without a teacher. No man need be taught to abandon his vices and reform his manners, as Nature will dictate one part of it, conscience will dictate the other. He wants nothing but to be convinc't that it ought to be done ; and it would be needless to preach moralls to him any long time. Let him but appeal to himself, and he will find teachers in his own breast, that will tell him it is not onely necessary to be done, but easie also, and that without it he not onely is ruin'd himself, but his posterity also.

For take him in the meer state of nature, as I may call it, namely just as he came out of his ignorant, immoral father's hands, that is to say, uneducated, uninstructed, and consequently foolish, wild, vicious, and immoral : how unhappily, but unavoidably, unless thus prevented, does he propagate ignorance and vice, and hand them down from his ancestors to his posterity by the meer course of humane generacion !

f. 122. But now to return to my argument. How shall the gentleman govern himself ? As we learn speech from the imitation of our forefathers, so, in a word, we learn vice or virtue from the like imitation. We see the method of the family has been to entail ignorance and
immorality

immorality upon the race ; and how shall that race so initiated introduce the practise of virtue ?

The example is layd down in the foregoing chapter. If the gentleman who thus had the disfaſter of a vicious introduction into life, abandon'd to ignorance without education and without instruction, comes by meer Providence¹ or fence, call it what you will, to ſee his own deficiency and to be virtuously inclin'd, tho' whence it ſhould come is ſome thing hard to ſay, but if it ſhould happen ſo, the way is lin'd out for him : let him ſett about the work of informing and inſtructing himſelf with ſuch helps and ſuch aſſiſtance as I have ſaid above may be had as well from books as from men of learning, and 'tis evedent from experience and from the example I have given that the caſe may be retriev'd and the want of early teaching be very much repair'd, if not fully ſupply'd ; for, in a word, tho' the defects of parents and the want of early instruction is great, yet 'tis wilfull ignorance and obſtinate contempt of, and averſion to, learning, that is in generall the ſin of the day.

That our gentlemen are illiterate and untaught is true ; but 'tis as true that where there is one gentleman who complains of it and thinks himſelf the worſe for it, there are 20 that boaſt of it, value themſelves upon it, think their ignorance fits well upon their quality, and that contemn the men of letters and books as below them and not worth their regard ; who think learning unfashionable, and, at beſt, uſeleſs to them, and that to write their names is enough for men of fortunes, that they have nothing to do but ſit ſtill and enjoy the world and roll in the abundance of it, that the reſt is all buſineſs and buſtle, that 'tis below them and not worth their notice.

This pride, however prepoſterous and however inconſiſtent with common ſenſe, is the ruin of the Engliſh gentry.

¹ Abbreviated.

gentry at this time ; for tho' the ignorance it self is a criminal folly and admits of no excuse, but that unhappy one of laying it upon their fathers, yet valuing themselves upon it and persisting in it as a matter of choice, is still worse. Ignorance is a crime in it self, but obstinate, affected and resolv'd ignorance is tenfold more criminal. To be untaught and to have our education neglected is one thing ; but to boast of it, value our selves upon it and, in a word, to choose it, is another ; to be uneducated is a misfortune, to choose to be so is a folly : but to boast of being so is the *Devil*.

- Now let us look a little into the family of this self-wife, but uneducated creature. We are to suppose he is the head of the house and on that account ought to be the best governed thing in it ; but how does he behave ? Directly contrary to an extrem in every capacity, without government, without rule, ignorant and obstinately so.

1. Take him *as a master* : he is haughty, imperious, and tyrannick, or elce soft, easie, and capable of being wheedl'd, impos'd upon and drawn in by every sharper and into every bubble, till first he is expos'd and then undone.

2. *As a husband* : he is froward, furly, humorous, and uneasy, teizing every body and perplexing himself, unconstant in temper, untractable, positiv, and wants every thing that denominates a gentleman to be a man of fence ; in a word, as a fool is certainly the worst of husbands, so an illiterate, untaught, concieted, self opinionate husband is the worst of fools.

3. *As a father* : Fatal relativ ! Here he is cut out to have his children curse him ; he neither knows how to be a father, nor how to teach them to be children ; he breeds them up to despise him, and yet to imitate him. They can learn nothing good from him, and what's bad they

they are sure to have his example for. As he contemns the learning he wants, he is sure to let his children want the learning he contemns. He educates his sons at the stable door, instead of the Grammar School, and his huntsman is Head Tutor; he teaches them to swear with a particular application, and his own valuable example is their introduction; his daughters are bred at the assembly and at the card table, and the Quadrill is the height of their acquired knowledge. He entails vice and ignorance upon his eldest son in honour to his primogeniture, and if he does give his younger sons a little clergy, 'tis merely to put them off with a few letters instead of an appenage, and give them a grammar for a portion.

4. Take him *in publick station*, suppose as a magistrate in the country. He makes a tolerable justice, because he has little or nothing comes before him. If he is plac'd where business comes in, he gets a better learn'd clerk, and leaves the matter to him, and the warrant money is his wages, so making good the old proverb *that the clerk makes the justice*, while the master does just nothing.

5. Take him *at London*, that is to say, at Court. If he has the honour to be sent up to Parliament, he enters himself among the *dead weight* of the House, makes one of Sir T. Ha . . . r's 50, and does just what other men bid him. If he has wit enough to get in for a little secret service money, 'tis the height of his *f. 124.* attainment; but 'tis much oftner that he is made a property without it, being every way qualify'd for that advanc'd post in nature, *a fool for nothing* and *a fool gratis*. If he gets a pension, he comes readily into all schemes and measures, his part being excellently well suited to his capacity; for he has nothing to do but to follow as he is led, and say *Ay* and *No*, just as they bid him. When he goes home from London, he may be

be truly said to have sold himself (that is, his country) and run away with the money.

Enough of a fool. Now let us view his contrary, who this foil serves to illustrate. *The compleat gentleman* is the reverse of all this. As he governs himself by the rules of virtue and good fence, so his family appears distinguish't among all the families about him for their excellent order, their generall and particular conduct under his government.

His conjugal life is all harmony and musick, peace and joy; tendernefs and affection are the sum of their united enjoyment.

She knows no felicity but what she finds in him, and he centers his uttmost satisfaction in her. She is compleatly¹ happy in him, and he is compleatly happy in her. If suitable society is a heavenly life, 'tis here in the uttmost perfeccion that humane affairs can produce; for here every thing appears agreeable in it self and to one another.

From this conjugal harmony all the beauty of a Heaven upon earth is to be seen. Every station of life is fill'd up. Virtue and honour diffuses their lustre thro' every scene of life, and fill up every relation. He is, in consequence of this excellent conduct, the best father, the best master, the best magistrate, and the best neighbour; in a word, he is a blessing to his family, to his country, and to himself; he is kind to all, lov'd by all, has the prayers of all; the rich honour him, the poor blefs him, vice trembles at him, and none but the devil envies or hates him.

Let us look back that, upon *the government of himself* in particular, he is frugal without avarice, managing without rigor, humble without meanness, and great without haughtyness; he is pleasant without levity, grave without affectacion; if he has learning, his knowledge

¹ MS. *compleaty*.

knowledge is without pedantry and his parts without pride; modesty and humility govern him, and he applies his learning purely to do good to others and to instruct himself farther in the good government of himself.

If thro' the error of custome his father left him unfinished and he lost the blessing of a liberal education, he sees the mistake with a secret grief, and accordingly applies himself with the utmost diligence to retrieve the loss and finish himself; and in particular, he follows Solomon's rule, he *seeks after knowledge as for silver, and searches for her as for hid treasure*, Prov: 11, 4. In a word, he labours for improvement with an unwearied application, and never gives over the pursuit of it till he has compleatly fitted himself for conversation and for appearing in the world as a compleat gentleman.

II. *Of the government of his children.*

Take him next in his family capacity; for he fills up every relative station. If he has children,¹ his principal f. 125. care is their education; the knowledge he had of his own defect and of the loss he sustain'd by the mistake of his father in neglecting his education fills him with a happy anxiety for the timely instruction of his eldest son; and it is observable that he takes a particular care of *his* learning for that very reason for which other gentlemen despise it, namely, because he is a gentleman and because he is to be the heir. He sees how glorious a thing learning is to a man of quality and what a lustre it adds to his family; how well it becomes him in every figure he makes in life; how it sets off his other virtues, as fine jewels set off a beautiful face.

For the rest, he resolves his children shall not curse the memory of their father either for wasting their patrimony

¹ Abbreviated.

patrimony or starving their genius. He is as carefull to fill their heads as their pockets and to fit them for the world in every station of life which fate may determine for them.

To this purpose he very early causes his sons, the eldest as well as the rest, to submit to discipline and to know the reason and nature of government and subordination, as well family government as national. He inculcates as early as possible good principles into their minds that so they may become good Christians,¹ as also modesty, humillity, and every branch of good moralls into their heads, in order to fitt them for a life suitable to their birth, and that they may be made good men as well as good gentlemen, making it the stated, establish't foundation of all good instruction that *Manners makes the Man* and that modesty and virtue and humillity are the brightest ornaments of a gentleman.

After he has establish't them in an early love of virtue and in earnest desires after knowledge, he then stores their heads gradually and in its due order with all kinds of usefull learning, distinguishing them in the manner of their instruction as Nature has directed. The eldest son is allways regarded as the eldest son, even in the manner of his school government, and yet with due government also; and this is carry'd on to all the needfull degree of learning as suites their capacities and as they will take it in. As they advance in learning, the eldest son especially is remov'd from the schools to the college, where he causes him to finish his studies in a manner suitable to what he is and is to be. There he goes thro' a course of physicks, I mean philosophy, not medicin; for he is to be a gentleman, not a doctor,² a proficient, not a graduate; having gone thro' a course of astronomy, geography,

¹ MS. X.² Dr.

geography, hiftory, and fuch other parts of needfull knowlege as are peculiar beauties in the life of a gentleman, he furnifhes him with a proper perfon experienc'd for the purpofe, in whole agreeable and improving converfacion he finifhes him with the advantage of travell, and thus he comes out into the world a compleat gentleman.

To return to the father, his next care is of his younger fons ; and to thefe he is fure alfo to giv the uttmof store of learning fuited to their refpectiv genius and inclination, and fo to prepare them for what ever figure or ftacion in life they fhall turn their thoughts *f. 126.* to, whether to the Church, the Law, the Court, the Camp, the Fleet, or whatever other thing fuitable to their quallity and confiftent with a life of virtue and good fence they feem inclin'd to ; withall not forgetting by the well mannaging his own fortune to make fuch provision for his younger children, the collateral branches of his family, as that they may not be turn'd loofe to make their fortunes by neceffity and wander thro' the world *ubi fata vocant* ; but that they may have their proper figure to make in the ftacion he fhall leav them without difgracing his family, depending upon, and incumbring, the heir, or hanging about the Court for bread, the moft fcandalous of all human dependencies.

Thus he does not ftarv his younger fons to eftablifh the family in the heir, nor embarras the heir and load his eftate to fupport and provide for his younger children ; but all have a proporcion'd bleffing from the provident father to keep up their figure as his children and to place them in the world independent of one another.

The like he does by his daughters, if he has any or many ; and tho' it is true a numerous family will make a kind of a depredacion upon an eftate, however large
it

it may be and however prudent the head of the house may be, yet a wife and well manning father begins his concern for them so soon by retrenching moderately his own expences and even the manner of his living, that he enables himself to provide fuitable fortunes for the young ladyes, and this without abating any of the necessary parts of their educacion or of their ornaments, equipages, etc. ; for there are allwayes so many less necessary things in the figure of a great family, which may be retrench'd and abated silently and unperciv'd, that the prudent head of the house will not be oblig'd to abate those necessary things without which the credit of the family can not be supported or by which the educacion of the children may be neglected or the inheritance of the heir lessen'd or incumbr'd.

Under this good government of himself and family the compleat gentleman proceeds in the most happy and successfull manner to establish his family, direct his affaires and to introduce his children¹ into the world with all possible advantage, well furnish'd, well finish'd, and compleat like himself, till at last he leaves the family growing in wealth and reputacion by his example, and himself sleeps with his fathers like old King David full of dayes, riches, and honour.

III. *Of the government of his estate.*

I come now to the government of his fortune or estate. Next to the first and great mistake among our gentry of which I have spoken at large, viz., that it is below the quality of a gentleman of fortune to meddle with learning and books, the next and in its kind as preposterous, and sometimes as fatall, is this, viz., that it is below them also to audit their own accounts, let their own lands, manage their own revenues, or, in short, to look
after

¹ Abbreviated.

after their estates. Unhappy and miserable pride! the never failing way to poverty and disgrace! What havock has this absurd Spanish temper made among our nobility and gentry! How many flourishing woods has it cut down! How many manours has it par'd off from the inheritance! How many entails has it dock't, that is, cut off from the families! In a word, how has it brought the stewards to be richer *f. 127.* than the lords, the bailies than the gentlemen! and how many flourishing estates are at this very day running to ruine, and the families who possess't them to decay, under the miserable consequences of this fatally indolent temper.

It is true, this unhappy thoughtless custome is not the same every where, nor is it carry'd up to such a height in all families; yet there is a degree of it to be found almost every where; and it shows it self remarkably in this generall, viz., the new fashion'd and prevailing extravagance¹ and expensiv living, which at this time runs almost thro' all the families of the gentry, not considering or, at least, not sufficiently considering whether their expence out-runs their income or no, or what proportion their yearly payments bear to their anual rent. This is in short the same thing which, as above, I call *not auditing their own account.*

Now, without entring into a full enquiry into all the fatal consequences of this ill managment, this, in short, is the generall effect of it, namely, that at this time if you take the families of the meaner gentry (especially) all over England you will find a great part of them, I might say the most of them, are allwayes in necessitous circumstances,² bare of money, borrowing rather than lending, and what we ordinary express by an apt, tho' coarse English saying, *they are run behind hand*

¹ Over *extravagance*, Defoe has written *luxury*. ² Abbreviated.

hand; in the country you have it in a still courser way of speaking, viz., *they are out at heels*.

By the meaner gentry here I would be understood to mean those families of gentlemen as have estates from £500 a year and under, to £100 or 200 a year, and yet liv wholly upon those estates without what we call employment or business; for of such we have other things to say.

Of these families the generall circumstance is such as this:—

1. The gentlemen are often times of very good houses of antient descent, ally'd to severall other families, perhaps of the same name but of superior fortune, to some by intermarriages, some by immediate relation, collateral branches, younger brothers, and the like, and perhaps intimate by the accidents of neighbourhoods and the like; all which circumstances¹ oblige the gentlemen, or at least the family, to an extraordinary expensiv living in drefs, equipages, servants and dependences, treats, entertainments, house-keeping, &c., mostly upon the weak and foolish pretence that they may, as 'tis call'd, look like other people.

2. This extraordinary way of living must necessarily exhaust their substance, being, as is suppos'd, abov the income of their revenue; all which tends as naturally to poverty, as a consumption of the vitals in the² humane body tends to death. It is a certain axiom in matters of this nature that every wise mannager will proportion his *layings-out* to his *comings-in*, so as that allways he may lay up some thing. He that spends but one hundred pounds a year less than his estate brings in, must grow
f. 128. rich of course, as naturally as that he that spends £100 a year more than his income must certainly be poor.

➔ From this unhappy custome of living abov themselves, which at this time more than ever prevails
among

¹ Abbreviated.

² *the* is left out in MS.

among our gentry, it comes to pass that, as I said above, almost all the gentry in England of moderate estates are kept low and in necessitous circumstances.¹ I do indeed place it chiefly upon the class of families from £500 a year downward, and I believe it is more generally so among the gentry of that rank. But I am told I need not confine my self to them, for that it is so (with a very few exceptions) even to the gentry of the greatest estates, lords, earles, and dukes, of which many examples might be given, if I would make the satire personal and bring examples of particular people; but that is no part of my present design.

I return to those I call the meaner gentry; their case is thus. Suppose a gentleman of £400 to 500 a year estate, and suppose him living in the country upon the estate and in the mansion house upon the spot, the antient seat of the family to which he has or has not a park adjoyn'd, and other usuall advantages as it may happen.

His first advantage is that he payes no rent, that his park having some meadow grounds within the pale, few parks are without it, affords him grafs and hay for his coach horses and saddle horses, which goes also a great way in the expence of the family; besides that, he has venison perhaps in his park, sufficient for his own table at least, and rabbits in his own warren adjoining, pigeons from a dove house in the yard, fish in his own ponds or in some small river adjoining and within his own royalty, and milk with all the needfull addenda to his kitchen, which a small dary of 4 or 5 cows yields to him.

All these are vast helps in housekeeping to a frugal family, and give my lady, *his Mayor Domo*, opportunity to keep a very good house upon very reasonable terms, and which, if the gentleman was inclin'd to manage
with

¹ Abbreviated.

with prudence, would go a great way towards living comfortably.

But let us look a little within doors. Perhaps the lady, as a late author has it, having *bred* in her young dayes like a tame pigeon, they have now a stock of children 2 sons and 4 daughters, and these are now grown up. The eldest son writes gentleman, and he must appear as such in the country. He has his fervant and a couple of hunters, and he follows his sport with his neighbours either with his father's hounds, if he keeps a pack of dogs, or if not, with the next gentleman that does.

The young gentleman begining to keep company must have a good equipage and money in his pocket, that he may appear as other gentlemen do and may keep the best company, and this cannot be done without a large allowance; and this makes the first hole in the father's cash, and sometimes the son calls for it faster than the father can supply him, which often times causes some chagrin and discontent in the family, and some times is of bad consequence, makes the young esquire¹ warm and uneasie, and away he goes up to London, gets into bad company and is undone early.

But we will suppose the best, and that it does not go that length, but he goes on as above. We come next to the daughters. The young ladyes are genteel and handsome; the father is vain of them, and the old lady, their mother, breeds them up to the hight of the figure the family in generall allwayes used to make. They drefs rich, are gay, are taught to do nothing but ride in the coach and visit my Lady *on this side*, the Countess of *on that side*, and my Lady Dutchess *on the other side*, being all neighbours. There they dance, play at Quadrille, and being agreeable young ladyes

¹ Esq^r.

ladyes, the countesses and the dutchesses and their daughters are mighty fond of their company, and come and visit them again, the honour of which extremely elevates them ; and thus they learn to taste the pleasure of living high, in which they must imitate as far as possible all the customs, nay, and even the very dresses of the ladyes of quality with whom they kept company ; and how far this will agree with £500 or 600 a year, you shall find in the consequence. f. 129.

By this improvident and thoughtless way of living the gentleman, the head of this ill governing family, gets into debt, and finds himself embarrassed. One tradesman asks him for money, another shop keeper sends in his bill, and he cannot raise money for them ; till after some time they grow rude and impertinent, saucy, and threatening.

Impatient and perplexed at this, poor gentleman ! he knows not what to do. He can not bear to be dun'd, but making his complaint to Mr. Gripe, a country attorney, or to Mr. Sharp, a scrivener at London, he presently tells him he must make himself easy by taking up a little money upon the estate, that he ought not to let his credit in the country sink and that he has £1000 at his service, adding as a farther kindness that he will do it for him so privately, that no body in the country shall know any thing of it.

From this moment the gentleman is undone, his revenue is now lessened by £50 a year, I mean, the interest of this £1000, his expence goes on at least the same ; and tho', while the £1000 lasts, he sits pretty easy ; yet that waits, and at last he sees himself wasting and falling into the same embarrassed condition as before, and this sits close to his heart.

I am loth to carry on the case to the winding off the bottom and bring the family to ruin, which must be the end of all, if the gentleman lives many years ;
but

but I'll break it off here and show you the consequence of but one step downwards.

Just at the end of the first £1000 the old gentleman, who begins to see, tho' too late, the growing ruine of his family, becomes mellancholly, and, in a word, breaks his heart and dyes, having first made his will as follows :—

First, his eldest son must have the estate; that he can't avoid, for it is generally entail'd, and if it was not, the honour of the family requires it: the house must be kept up. But as the rest of the family must not starve, so his younger brother must have £1000 to buy him a commission, and his 4 sisters each of them £800 to marry them as well as they can, perhaps to some indifferent body; for that fortune will go but a little way with a gentleman, and they are bred too high to take up with a tradesman, or indeed for a trades-man to venture upon them; so, if they marry at all, 'tis a great hazard but they are ruin'd and undone, for they have little else before them.

But we leav the ladies to mannage their own good or bad fortune, and return to the heir, the eldest son; for he is the stay of the family; he comes to the estate in very unhappy circumstances.¹ His estate, which was 500 a year besides the mansion² house and park, which
f. 130. to carry every thing up to the highest pitch you may call £100 a year more, is heavily loaded, as follows³:

In the first place, his mother, during her life, keeps £200 a year from him, which was her joynture, and must be out of his hands while she lives. However, to make the best of things, we'll suppose the good lady, loth to stand long in the way of her son's prosperity, drops off and dyes also, and so the whole estate falls into his hand, which then stands encumbr'd as follows:

I. A

¹ Abbreviated.

² MS. *mansion*.

³ MS. *fol*.

1. A mortgage for money borrow'd £1000
2. The younger brother's appennage,
which must be paid off, for he
can not stay for it ; his prefer-
ment depends upon the money: £1000
3. Four sisters' porcions of £800 each,
due as fast as they marry, and the
ladys to keep in the mean time £3,200

5,200

So that in short the unhappy young gentleman is incumbrd to the tune of £5200 with the intrest of the first £2000 to pay in the mean time, so that indeed he has but £400 a year to support the family and maintain his four sisters.

In this condition what course does he take? The first thing he has before him is to marry ; if he gets a suitable match, we will suppose £5000 porcion, then his happiness stands thus : The gentleman pays away all his lady's fortune to clear his estate, and then he has the comfort of beginning just where his father did before him, namely, that he has just the family estate that his father had, that is to say, a good mansion house and park (proper tools to ruine him by leading him to live in too great a figure), £500 a year land and no money in his pocket ; so that as, I say, he began just where his father began, so he is in a fair way to end just where his father ended and leave his heir and family embarrassed just as he found it ; and all this is supposing the gentleman to be a sober man too, a man of morals and virtue, onely unhappy, as I have said, in his circumstances.¹ If he proves ever so little extravagant, immoral, drunken, like other men, that alters the case exceedingly, of which in its place ; but first speaking of him as a man of virtue, let us then take the

¹ Abbreviated.

the ordinary alternativ here, that frequently happens in this case, that, to begin with the best part, it may happen that this gentleman may drop into the city, and falling into a merchant's family or some other wealthy tradesman's,¹ he meets with a young lady of fortune, that being willing to marry a gentleman and fond of a title, and with all the gentleman being perhaps handsome, well educated and a man of address, she takes a fancy to him, and he gets £10 to 20,000 with her. If this be the case, he is made easie at once ; he makes her a joyniture of the whole estate, pays off the incumbrances, purchases £500 a year more, and adds to the estate, keeps £3 or 4000 ready money in his pocket, and especially if the lady be a good mannager, too, as sometimes happens, especially among the city ladyes, to their fame be it spoken. Thus the gentleman lays up something every year, and, in a word, the family is made, his fortune is doubl'd, his house is settled, he is thoro'ly delivred, and he is a rising man.

But where and how often is this black swan to be found ? Let us look at the reverse of it, which is much oftner the case.

Suppose on the other hand one of these two cases are his lot :

1. That instead of the lady with a fortune, as above, nay, instead of the lady with a suitable moderate fortune, £5000, as above, he cripples his fortune in the begining, marrys below himself, and takes a woman with a mean fortune, or what is worse, with no fortune ; or

2. Suppose he has² marry'd, as above, with a suitable fortune, and has paid of the incumbrances and, as I have said, begins just where his father began ; but that, not having his father's prudence, he runs out by some extravagance of his own, and plunges himself by some imorallities,

¹ T—M—.

² MS. *having* instead of *he has*.

imorrallities, ill habits, bad company, and the like, and so runs back.

In either of these cases, be it which it will, he is infallibly reduc'd, and having once dip'd, that is, mortgaged his estate, he never retrieves it, and all comes to ruine. If death or any intervening help steps in, to put a stop to the diffaster before all is lost, yet the family is reduc'd ; and if the remainder of the estate comes out at one hundred or two hundred pounds a year, just to keep the family from misery, which indeed is more than there is room to expect, 'tis a favourable end ; and in the close the children are beggars, the sons must run into the army, the daughters, put off with 300 or 400 pound fortune, are oblig'd to run abroad, marry trades-men or, perhaps, a clergy man or two among the neighbourhood, and, in a word, are brought to very mean things ; what is left to the eldest son is a calamity, not an estate, and ends, as we often see, in a shadow of a gentleman, not a family, till it dwindles at last into nothing, is lost and forgot in the country.

It is true, in great estates we have seen examples of it, when a frugal son has recover'd the depredacions which a drunken, extravagant ancestor has made in the inheritance ; and some times the very same possessor that *f. 132.* has run out and exhausted the fortune of the family, has taken up, retrencht his expences, sequestred himself, and liv'd retir'd, till the estate, by time, has out-grown the wounds it has receiv'd, and the family has recover'd ; but this must be in great estates, where, the family resolving to liv in a narrow compass, the remainder of the estate will work out it self, and even this is very difficult ; but where the estate is small and the incumbrances together with meer subsistence for the family rise too near to a ballance of the estate, there it is impossible, and therefore the wound is mortall in such families, and it can not be done.

Thus

Thus you have a view of the ordinary fate of the middling gentry and the difasters by which they are often reduc'd. I forbear to giv examples, tho' I could illuſtrate this diſcourſe with a great variety, and whoſe ſtorys, were it not that the relacion might ſeem to be a perſonall ſatyr and touch ſome houſes too near, would be very diverting and inſtructing, too; but I purpoſely avoid expoſing families and gentry and making theſe miſtakes exemplar, which perhaps may yet be recoverd, and if not, are too tragicall to be entirely conceal'd.

It is enough to add here that the compleat gentleman I am ſpeaking of avoids all theſe miſtakes and leaves his houſe eſtabliſh'd on the foundation of his own prudence and good conduct beyond the power of diſaſter.

It is no ſcandal upon a gentleman of the higheſt quallity or of the greateſt eſtate to mannage his own affairs with prudence and judgement: on the contrary, there is no manner of reputacion either of judgment or underſtanding raiſed upon the foundation of an unthinking, indolent temper; as 'tis no credit to a man of quallity to do little things unworthy of himſelf to ſave his money, ſo neither is their [!] any credit in extravagance; doing mad things will rather mark a man for mad than for a man of thought; a man of ſedate judgement will judge ſedately and act wiſely.

Bring this home to the caſe in hand: 'tis no credit for any man to ſquander away his ſubſtance; by ſquandering I am to be underſtood ſpending it imprudently, unwarily, and beyond the limits of his income, without regarding the due proporcion between the expence and the fund; on the contrary, it tends to poverty if a man ſpends but £20 a year more¹ than his income. He is from that moment a declining man, and his fortune is in a conſumcion, and at length he muſt decay.

The

¹ MS. *le/s*.

The gentleman I am recommending the character of considers this ; and as he abhorrs being poor, as who does not, so he resolv's never to waſt the capital. If he *f. 132 b* layes up nothing, he will ſink nothing ; if he has a capitall eſtate, he may alleage that he has no occaſion to increaſe it, and ſo may be doing good with it to the full extent, and ſo far his not improving may at leaſt be excuſ'd ; but no man has any occaſion to leſſen his eſtate or to ſink his revenue meerly becauſe it is too bigg, ſeeing a leſſning the capital is in its kind a decay upon his family.¹

¹ In MS., *be* follows after *family*.



PART II.

CAP. I.

Of the fund for the encrease of our nobility and gentry in England, being the begining of those we call Bred Gentlemen, with some account of the difference.

IHAVE mencioned some thing of our antient gentry, their originall, the value they put upon themselves, the unhappy methods they take in bringing up and introducing their posterity, and how the poor unhappy heirs of the fortunes of the best families are abandon'd to ignorance and indolence, till they are become objects of pity rather than worship and homage, and how they are plac'd below their inferiours in all the virtues and accomplishments which should render them valuable in their stacion.

I have also, as the end of the whole discourse, evedently directed them how they shall recover the loss, retriev the unhappy sunk reputacion of their understandings, and at least place themselves where Nature has plac'd them and where by education they ought to have been plac'd, I men,¹ in the true elevation of a complete gentleman. I now proceed.

Law

¹ I.e., mean.

Law, trade, war, navigation, improvement of stocks, loans on public funds, places of trust, and abundance of other modern advantages and private wayes of getting money, which the people of England in these last ages have been acquainted with more than formerly, have joyn'd, I do not say conspir'd, together for some yeares past to encrease the wealth of the commonalty, and have rais'd a great number of families to not only prosperous circumstances,¹ for that I am not speaking of, but to immense estates, vast and, till of late, unheard of summs of money amass'd in a short time and which have, in the consequence, rais'd such families to a station of life some thing difficult to describe and not less difficult to give a name to.

We can not call them gentlemen; they don't insist upon it themselves as the word gentlemen is understood to signify men of antient houses, dignify'd with hereditary titles and family honours, old mansion houses, old advowsons [!], the right of patronage to churches, establish'd burying places, where they shew the monuments of innumerable ancestors, names deriv'd from the lands and estates they possess, parks and forests made their own by prescription and usage time out of mind, and such like marks of the antiquity of the race.

These things they have no claim to, but as a rich merchant answer'd to an insolent country esquire who upbraided him that he was no gentleman: "No, Sir," says the merchant, "but I can buy a gentleman,"—so these have the grand essential, the great fund of families, *f. 134* the money, if they have no more, and very often they really have no more. You see I am willing to give up the first money getting wretch, who amass'd the estate, tho' he rode in his coach and four and, perhaps, coach and six, wore a sword (the latter I think our laws should restrain); in short, perhaps he had all the ensigns of

¹ Abbreviated.

of grandeur that a true bred gentleman is distinguish'd by, yet the stock jobber, the 'Change Alley broker, the projector, or whatever low priz'd thing he was, may be allow'd to hang about him too much for the first age to give him so much as the shaddo' of a gentleman. Purse-proud, insolent, without manners, and too often without fence, he discovers his mechanick qualifications on all occasions; the dialect of the Alley hangs like a brogue upon his tongue, and if he is not clown clad in his behaviour, 'tis generally supplied with the usuall air of a sharper and a bite, and he can no more leav the ravening after money, *Fas aut nefas*, than an old thief can leav off pilfering, or an old whore leav off procuring.

But when I say I thus giv up the founder of the house, I must yet open the door to the politer son, and the next age quite alters the case: Call him what you please on account of his blood, and be the race modern and mean as you will, yet if he was sent early to school, has good parts, and has improv'd them by learning, travel, conversation, and reading, and above all with a modest courteous gentleman-like behaviour: despise him as you will, he will be gentleman in spite of all the distinctions we can make, and that not upon the money onely, and not at all upon his father and family, but upon the best of all foundations of families, I mean a stock of personall merit, a liberal education, a timely and regular discipline and instruction, and a humble temper early form'd and made the receptible of the best impressions and subjected to the rules and laws of being instructed.

By these things the successors to, and sons of, the over-rich scoundrel, call him as you will, become gentlemen and are without hesitation receiv'd for such among the best families in Britain; nor do any of the most antient families scruple to form alliances with
 them

them by intermarriages, or esteem their blood at all dishonour'd by the conjunction.

To speak truth the antient families are so reduc'd or so many of them extinct, that we find abundance of the mansions and parks and estates and inheritances of the most antient extinct families bought by citizens, merchants, lawyers, etc., and the old race gone and forgotten; and for the decay'd families of our gentry, nay, and even of the nobility, we find the heires flye to the city as the last resort, where by marrying a daughter of some person meaner in dignity, but superior in money, the fortunes of the family are restor'd, the estates, dipp'd and mortgag'd and in danger of being lost and devour'd, are recover'd, the fame and figure of the family restor'd; and the posterity make no difficulty to own the descent of such a line, or think their race at all dishonour'd in blood by the mixture.

His grace the D of was a person of the first rank; he had some of the best blood of England in his veins; he quarter'd the arms of an incredible number of antient families in his escutcheon¹ of arms; his father had enjoy'd some of the greatest places of honour and trust in the kingdom;² there had been two or three blew ribbons in the family, and he was himself a young prince that had a thousand good qualities to recommend him.

But my Lord Duke was unhappy after all: His estate was low; his father lost prodigious sums in the Civil Warrs by his loyalty and gat no amends upon the restoracion except titles and a blew ribband. He was a generous-hearted noble-man, and liv'd above his fortune, so that he brought the estate into great encumbrances, and even the great house and the estate adjoining had £17,000 mortgage upon it and some yeares intrest.

Two

¹ MS. *Escutcheon*.

² *K*.

Two other estates of about 4000 per annum each were dip'd also and the intrest unpaid for a long time, so that my Lord Duke had very little left clear and was glad to accept a pension of £2000 a year from the royal bounty to support his dignity. He had liv'd frugally and retir'd, if possible, to bring the estate to work it self out of debt, and he had cut down near £60,000 worth of timber to help deliver himself, and it had made some progress; but alas, he was in so deep it would require an age to retrieve it, and the utmost he could expect was to leave a good estate to his heir, if he should have one; for he must not expect to get thro' it till 40 or 50 year hence.

Under these difficulties he hears of a certain lady in the city; her father indeed was but a trades-man¹ and of no family, but he is dead, and the lady is well educated, being left in the hands of a guardian, a merchant, who bred her up to what she might be supposed to come to, not what her father was; and the merchant has been so just to her, that he has encreas'd her fortune exceedingly since the father dyed. To sum up all, the lady is agreeable, very beautiful, virtuous, well bred, and has £80,000 fortune, besides a reversion or two, which, if they should fall in to her in any reasonable time, may encrease it farther very considerably.

In short, my Lord Duke hears of her, gets himself handsomely introduc'd to her, makes very honourable proposals to the guardian, settles £4000 a year jointure upon her, part of her fortune paying off £20,000 mortgage which lay upon it with 8500 intrest left unpaid, and on this settlement marries the lady.

She comes into the family with a flowing stream of wealth. My Lord Duke is a man of honesty as well as honour; he clears all his estate with this fortune, and has

¹ T—M—

has £20,000 left in cash. He uses his lady, as her merit as well as fortune deserv'd, with all the kindness, respect, and affection imaginable, and particularly honours her as if she had been born a princess. She on the other hand by an extraordinary behaviour wins the regard not of his grace onely, but of all the persons of quality both in the country and the Court also, and this, I say, by a behaviour unexceptionable and almost unexampled. She brought his grace 4 sons and 2 daughters, and nobody lessens their quality or blood on their mother's account. How many families of noble-
men, gentlemen, and persons of the best characters, who having been plung'd in difficulties as this noble person was, rais'd by such matches! If this was a dishonour to the antient blood, how few families are there to be found in England untoucht that way! For example:—

How are the present ducal houses of Beauford and Bedford intermarry'd with the daughters and grand daughters of Mr. Child and Mr. Howland; and how many, if it were not an offence to reckon them up, might we bring forth of a meaner production, where inferior ladies are marry'd to persons of rank and dignity, and others where ladies of noble families match with private men and hardly with gentlemen.¹

But

¹ On folio 134 b is the following list:

Duke Argyle . . .	with Mrs. Duncan
Earle Ifla . . .	with Mrs. Whitfield, a bastard
Earl of Buchan . . .	Mrs. Fairfax
Lord Onflow . . .	Mrs. Knight
Earl of Excester . . .	Mrs. Chambers
Duke of Beaufort . . .	Mrs. Child
Duke of Bedford . . .	Mrs. Howland
Duke Hamilton . . .	Mrs. Stangeways
old Duke Hamilton . . .	Mrs. Gerrard
Duke Wharton . . .	Mrs. Holmes
Lord Tankerville . . .	Mrs.

Lady

But tho' this is a confirmation of the thing with respect to the mixtures of blood, yet this is not the main article on which I found the ballance which I am stating. It is evedent all family honour begins some where, either in trade, virtue, favour of the prince, all assisting to the advance of fortune. Some rise by posts and places either in the armies or fleets or courts; others by civil employments, professions or possession, 'tis no matter as to our purpose which of these.

In every age some of these form new houses, as accidents in life remov families from one class into another. We find in most ages mortallity or other incidents frequently remove great, antient, and even honourable families from the station they were in, and they are extinct and gone as effectually as if they had never been. I could name severall antient and illustrious families whose names onely live in story, but whose place, as the text sayes, knows them no more, as the Peercys, the Veres, Mohuns, and severall others of the nobility and a multitude that might be nam'd among the gentry.

As we see these families wear off, we at the same time see a succession of modern families who, rais'd to estates by the accidents nam'd above, purchase the old manners and mansion houses of the extinguish'd race and rise up as new families of fortune and make new lines of gentry in their stead. These supply the roll of English gentry, and in a succession or two are receiv'd as effectually, and are as essentially gentlemen, as any of the antient houses were before them.

This

Lady Compton	to Mr. Gore
Lady Ruffel	to Sir Tho. Scawen
Lady Churchil	to Sir Ja. Bateman
Lady ———	to Pattee Bing
Lady Narbro'	to Cloudfly Shovell
Countess Dowager of	
Warwick	to Mr. Addifson
cum alijs	

This is especially to be observ'd in the severall countyes adjacent to London, where, in short, you have very few of the antient gentry left, as in the countyes of Effex, Kent, Surry, Middlefex, Hartford, etc. Take the two great countyes of Effex and Kent in particular : how few of the antient families are to be found, but the estates are possest and the new pallaces built all by modern houfes, the posterity of trades-men, merchants, soldiers, and seamen ; and one particularly acquainted with both the case and with the persons assur'd me that in the two countyes of Kent and Effex onely there was not one fifth part of the antient families remaining, and that he could name near 200 houfes of merchants and trades-men settled in those counties with immense wealth and estates, having purchas'd the estates of the antient gentry and erected a new race of gentry in their stead, whose originals begin already to be forgotten and who gain either by merit or money, and perhaps by both, to pass for good families and for unquestioned blood as much as any before them, and in a few yeares more will pass for antient families *f. 135.* also.¹

How many antient estates are purchas'd in these two counties by citizens and merchants of London within these few yeares past, and fine houfes built upon them, equall to the pallaces of some princes abroad.

Sir Richard Childs, now

Lord Castlemain . . at Wanstead, Effex ;

Sir John Isles near Rumford ;

Sir Nath. Mead near the same ;

. Chester near the Rye ;

Sir

¹ On folio 134 b the following families are named : In Effex the families of Child, Rebow, Cressner, Ashurst, Western, Rawson, Martin, Mead, Isles, Tyffon, Daval, Lethulier, Houblon, Chester, Webster, Blunt, Coward, Collier, Brookbank, Gould, Howard, Shovel, Page, Papilon, Furnis or Furnese, Lethuliere, Cock at Charleton, De la Port.

Sir Gregory Page . . . on Black Heath ;

Sir Robert Furnefe . . . near Deal.

These I name as extraordinary great capital houses of the first rate. The number of other buildings and which would be call'd pallaces if not ecclypst by these, are not to be reckon'd up, nor are the families which possess flourishing estates with them to be number'd, whose names are yet not to be found in the books or rolls of the antient gentry ; and what will be the consequence of this but that the next age will acknowledge these all to be gentlemen, without enquiring into the length of time when their houses and lines began ; nay, the present age does receive them as such even already.

There is also another thing not much thought of in this case, which however assists to establish these modern houses ; viz., since trade, by the increase and magnitude of our commerce in general, raises so many families to fortunes and estates, abundance of our antient gentry have not thought it below them to place out their younger sons in the families of merchants and overgrown tradesmen, and so to mingle not the blood, but the name also of the gentry with that of the mechanick, breeding them up to business and getting of money, as what they esteem no way unworthy their character or family.

(By this means many of these younger sons raise themselves estates also, as other men of business do, and bettering their fortunes, as above, by some happy turn in trade, they return into the class of gentlemen from whence they began.)

Thus we see abundance of trades-men¹ who derive from families of the best gentry in the nation : whether our nicer observers of the untainted blood of families, as they call it, will pretend that such men lose the claim which they had before to the name of gentlemen
and

¹ T—M.

and are, being once levell'd with the meaner people, allways of the rank with them : I say, whether they will pretend to this or not, I kno' not any more than I do whether they have any authourity for such pretensions or no.

(But this is certain, whether those people will allow it or no, that those gentlemen are of the true blood of their reall ancestors ; still their having been merchants or factors or trades-men, whole-sale or retail, did not cut off the entail of blood any more, than it cut off the fir-names.)

Now suppose a merchant of the family and blood of the Ruffells, an antient and noble, now ducal, house, or a wholesale grocer of the name of Howland or Crefner or Blacket, ancient families of the gentry : I say, suppose a trades-man¹ born of these antient families comes, after a long course of trade, to acquire an estate, and they leav off vastly rich to the tune of £30 to 50 to 100,000 in a man, and purchase an estate in proporcion to that fortune, and live in the country for an age or two ; it shall be remembred hereafter, and the heralds shall allow it, that this new family came from, or were of, the line of the antient house of Howland or Crefner or Blacket, and the interval of time in which he, the new family, apply'd to trade and got that estate shall be lost and forgotten : so the man is a gentleman of an antient family with-out any reserv, and is allow'd for such without the least hesitacion in ages to come ; nor indeed can we assign any just reason why it should not be allow'd so in the same age, tho' the circumstance² was known. (I see no reason why the younger brother should lose the honour of his family for having gotten an estate by his witts, as we call it, that is, by industry and applicacion to bussiness, suppose it an honourable bussiness, any more than the Duke of should lose his

¹ *T—M.*

² Abbreviated.

his honour and dignity for marrying the daughter of a mean person.)

But be that as the heralds and the criticks in blazonry and the rights of blood shall adjuſt it, this is certain, that as trade, eſpecially in this country, raiſes innumerable families from the duſt, that is to ſay, from mean and low beginnings to great and flouriſhing eſtates, ſo thoſe eſtates exalt theſe families again into the rank or claſs of gentry ; and from ſuch beginnings it may be ſaid that the greateſt part of the families among us has been raiſ'd, and moſt of the gentry in the ſucceeding ages are like to be of the ſame ſtock.

It muſt be acknowleg'd that the wealth and eſtates of the riſing families is very particular in this age, more than ever it was before, and that men are not now counted rich with twenty or thirty thouſand pounds in their pockets, as was the caſe ſome ages agoe ; but trades-men leav off now with immenſe wealth, not leſs than two or three hundred thouſand pound, nay with half a million in their pockets, a ſum of money truly call'd immenſe in a private man's pocket, and which was rarely heard of in former times. The poſterity of theſe men appear not purchaſing eſtates of three or four hundred pounds a year, as was then thought conſiderable, but of three or four, nay up to ten and twelv thouſand pounds a year, and ſome times much more, as was the caſe of the late Sir Joſiah Child, Mr. Tyſſon, Sir James Bateman, Sir Tho. De Vall or Daval, Sir Wm. Scawen, and ſeverall others that are gone, and is like to be the caſe of many now in view, who I refrain nameing becauſe they are ſo, but they are eaſie to be pointed out.

Now ſuppoſe any of theſe gentlemen to be deſcended from antient families of gentry, however brought up in buſſineſs : ſhall ſuch gentry as theſe be rejected by the pretenders to antiquity and blood of families, onely
because

because they have bestow'd a few vacant houres to get estates by their own application, when their great ancestors could not get it for them.

If they are thus descended from antient families one would think there could no objection lye against them, for they have the blood and the estates too. What can be offered against them? They have the families and the fortunes joyned together, and can onely be chargeable with the crime of getting the money. Must their descending to business in order to recover the misfortune of being a younger brother be a forfeiture? This would be stretching the string up to a higher pitch than ever I met with yet, and would break into the pedigree of most of the great and antient families in England.

'Tis hardly worth digressing thus far upon the foolish part. I proceed therefore to the matter of fact and to trace our gentry to their proper beginnings, whether antient or modern, whether to original branches or collateral. I believe we shall find the lustre of the English gentry not at all tarnish'd by their stock of the old race or by the addition of the new.

As those gentlemen who have thus descended to commerce claim a rank, as above, by blood, so those rais'd merely by the help of fortune claim the same advantage with the help of time; that is to say, the merchant or the trades-man whose application thus bless'd has lay'd the foundation of a family in his accumulated wealth, as he seldom arrives to the height, till he is, as we say, advanc'd in yeares, so the race as gentlemen seldom begin in him. He may be call'd the founder of the family, but his posterity are the gentlemen, as is merrily said of the great ancestor of the family of the Foleys now illustrious, *He was the workman*, aluding to his trade,¹ *that built the house*. But we admit the branches of the house,
who

¹ T.

who ever built it, into the highest rank of our gentry without the least hesitation.

By the last mencioned methods thousands of families are revived or new rais'd in the world, and, as they deserv, are rank'd among our gentry ; and whether they come in by the door or over the door, 'tis the same thing ; as they are rais'd to the dignity by the proper addition of such vast estates, those elevations are thoro'ly well accepted by the world, and in one age they are acknowleg'd as gentry to all intents and purposes as effectually and as unopposed as it could have been done had their title to it been as clear as possible from antiquity.

f. 138. It comes of course now to enquire into the usuall education of the eldest sons of these families ; and first I am to tell you they generally out-do the born gentlemen all over the Kingdom, I mean in educacion.

I can assure you they are not thought to be above educacion. Their parents never think learning or going to schoole a disgrace to them or below their quality.

And thus I am brought down to the terms of admission, as I may call them, vpon which the modern families of our gentry rank with the antient ; and I think they are very fairly reduc'd to two heads :—1. Great estates, whether rais'd by trade or any of the usuall improvements of the meaner people, supposing them onely to be without a blot of scandal, which I may explain in its turn. 2. A remove or two from the first hand or, as 'twas call'd above, the workman that built the house. These, and these onely, are the *postulata* requir'd, or at least that I insist upon as necessary.

Sir A C is a baronet ; his father was Lord Mayor of London, and kept his shop in Street many yeares, a worthy honest citizen of long standing, and liv'd to be father of the city, was belov'd by every body, had an extraordinary good name, and deserv'd
very

very well, having been a fair trades-man, juſt in all his dealing, and had a wonderfull good reputacion, and vaſtly rich.

He bred up his eldeſt ſon to no buſineſs, having ſo great an eſtate to give him, but ſent him to Eaton School, where he made ſuch a proficiency that at 18 year old he was ſent to the Univerſity; there he ſtudyed ſome time, when at his own requeſt and with his father's conſent he went abroad to travell.

His two younger brothers were brought up to their father's trade, and the old gentleman left it wholly to them; and they are very rich already, having great ſtocks given them by their father at firſt, and they being complete trades-men encreaſe it every day, grow rich appace, and may be as good gentlemen as their eldeſt brother in a few yeares, or at leaſt, may lay a foundation of the like greatneſs in the next age by educating their eldeſt ſons ſuitable to the breeding of a gentleman and giving them eſtates to ſupport it.

Their eldeſt brother being juſt come home from his travels, the good old baronette his father dyed, and having purchaſ'd an eſtate of £3000 a year in Hampſhire, beſides leaving him a vaſt ſtock of money in the Bank of England, the South Sea¹ and other public funds and ſecurityes, enough to purchaſe £3 or 4000 a year more. He is gone down to the manſion houſe in ſhire to put it in condicion, he having reſolv'd to ſettle there and to liv upon the ſpot.

When he came there, he fell immediately to work with the eſtate, look't over the leaſes, talk't with his father's bailies and ſtewards and with tennants too, making himſelf maſter of the condicion the eſtate was in, as well as of the eſtate itſelf, ordring new leaſes where the old ones were expir'd, ordred the farm houſes and barns to be repair'd, and ſome new ones to
be

¹ *S Sea.*

be built, rais'd severall cottages for the poor, which were old and fallen down, and, in a word, did everything to encourage the tennants and improve the estate, letting his tennants kno' that he intended to come and settle among them.

Then he goes to work also with the mansion house or family feat ; and first he ord'r'd the park to be wall'd about, the old pale being very much decay'd ; and as the earth was in many places proper for brick making, he causes the bricks to be made upon the spot, having some of his owne tennants who were brick makers, and so agreed with them by the thousand, he finding them earth to make them and wood to burn them.

Then he sett's men to the pulling down the out-houses which were decay'd, and builds a very handsome fett of stables, coach-houses and offices, a large dog kennell, with a little dwelling house for his hunts-man, and having stock'd his park with deer of an extraordinary kind, he builds two lodges in his park, with other conveniences for the keepers ; and all these things are done with a magnificence suitable to his fortunes, and to the figure he intended to liv in, and yet with a prudence and frugallity as to the manner of it that was admir'd by every body ; there was no want of any thing, and yet no needless simple profusion or ignorant weak extravagance ; and particularly he took care that ready money was allways paid for every thing that was bought, and that all the workmen were punctually pay'd their wages.

In all this Sir A does not think it below himself to direct and lay out every design and to be his own *Surveyor Generall*. If the workmen commit any mistake or presume to dictate, as such men will, contrary to his schemes, he sees it immediately and corrects the error, causes it to be pull'd down and done his own way, and is not affraid to let them kno' that he dares trust
to

to his own judgment and will have his orders strictly executed.

It happen'd one day that some neighbouring gentlemen riding by and seeing the works going forward in this manner, halt to satisfye their curiosity. "Let us go in," says one of them, "and see how the buildings go on here, and what they are a-doing." When they had view'd every thing and enquir'd of the workmen or, perhaps, of the head workman what this or that particular part was or was to be, and see the admirable order in which all was begun, and how every thing is design'd, and for what, they were surpriz'd ; first, they were shew'd the stables for his coach horses in one place, for his running horses in another, and for his hunters in a third ; here the stack yards, there the barns and hay-lofts ; here the granaries, there the wood yards ; here the aydings and riding places ; then they were shew'd the offices for the family, such as the dairies, the cow houses, the yards, the laundries, and the lodgings over them for women servants, and how to be wall'd in and enclos'd from the other offices of the *Ecurie* or stables, with particular inlets to the kitchens and other appartments of the house when built : I say, when they had fully view'd and observ'd all these things, the gentlemen go away exceedingly pleas'd, and discoursing among themselves saye one of them.

First gentleman : "I assure you, Sir A. will have a fine dwelling here when 'tis all done."

Second gentleman : "Yes, indeed ; they finish every thing very handfomly as they go."

Third gentleman : "Ay, and 'tis all well design'd too, admirably well ; who ever is his surveyer understands things very well."

First gentleman : "I observ every thing looks great and magnificent, and yet not gay and taudry, as if built for ostentacion."

Second

Second gentleman : "No, indeed; here is the grandeur without the vanity, her's no pride; 'tis all usefull, all necessary."

Third gentleman : "Ay, and wonderfully strong and substantial; 'tis built for the family. Why, 'twill stand for ever. I want to know who is his head mannager; I want such a man."

Second gentleman : "What, for your own building, Sir James, that you are going upon at the Grange? I can satisfy you in that point, and particularly that you can't have his help."

Third gentleman : "Why so, pray? I would not take him from Sir A., if I could; but I might talk with him and have some directions from him; I would pay him for it."

First gentleman : "I understand Mr. It is true you can't have him, indeed; why, Sir A. is his own surveyor; he lays out all the designs himself, and gives the workmen all the scantlings and dimensions from his own drafts."

Third gentleman : "You surprize me! Why, they say he was bred a trades-man, a meer citizen. His father was a grocer or a——"

Second gentleman : "Let his father be what he will, 'tis apparent he understands very well how to be a gentleman."

First gentleman : "Ay, and intends to live like a gentleman too; that's evident by all the design."

Second gentleman : "I assure you he has had as good
f. 140. an education as most gentlemen, for he was bred at the University; he was five years at Cambridge."

First gentleman : "And has been three years abroad upon his travels."

Third gentleman : "Nay, then he'll be too learned and too proud for his neighbours, that are better gentlemen than himself."

First

First gentleman : "No, indeed ; you wrong him. He is the most courteous, free, sociable gentleman that ever you kept company with in your life."

Third gentleman : "And is he not allways telling you of his travells, and what he has seen, and where he has been?"

Second gentleman : "Not at all ; indeed, unless any body enquires and asks him questions about it for their own informacion."

First gentleman : "Nor then neither any more than just to giv a direct answer."

Third gentleman : "And isn't his mouth full of scraps of Latin and of Italian, and such out of the way things?"

Second gentleman : "Not a word ; he is the best humour'd, humblest, and merryest thing that ever you saw in your life."

First gentleman : "Nay, and he's a compleat sportf-man."

Third gentleman : "Indeed, he seems to love the sport by his building such conveniences for his dogs and such a house for his huntf-man."

Second gentleman : "He is but every thing that a man of fortune should be."

First gentleman : "He is indeed a complete gentleman."

Third gentleman : "But so much scholarship ! D . . . it, I hate these learned gentlemen ; a man can't keep 'em company ; he must have such a care of 'em for fear he should look like a fool."

Second gentleman : "I see no need of it in his company ; he is above such little things. If a man makes a little slip, he is such a master of good manners, he never takes the least notice ; in short, he is a clever gentleman. You would be charm'd with his company."

First gentleman : "When does he come down to liv among us?"

Third gentleman : "I must needs say I don't desire it ; for I have no acquaintance with him."

First gentleman : "O you'll be soon acquainted with him."

Third gentleman : "I acquainted ? No ! no ! he is above me."

Second gentleman : "What do you mean by that ? Is any gentleman above Sir James ?"

First gentleman : "He is above no body, and will be below'd by every body."

Third gentleman : "But he is too well read for me, he is above me in conversation ; I can't carry on such an acquaintance."

First gentleman : "If you won't be acquainted with him, he will be acquainted with you. It's impossible you should avoid it ; you will be acquainted with him before he has been here a fortnight."

Second gentleman : "Ay, and be as fond of him as any body, too ; you have too much sense not to love such a man ; and he'll be as well pleas'd with you, too, Sir James. I can tell you that, for he loves a man of such an open, free, generous conversation as you are."

Third gentleman : "But I have no learning. I was an unhappy dog ; I was born to the estate, or else I had been taught ; but I must be a blockhead for sooth, because I was to be the gentleman. There's Jack, my youngest brother ; they gave him Latin and Greek as
f. 141. much as he could carry upon his back, and the D . . . I and all of other learning besides, and now he's (a P . . . Pocket) a lawyer I would say ; and there's Will, my second brother ; now he's commander of a man of war and knighted already, and all by his being a mathematical dog. There's ne're a blockhead in the family but me."

First gentleman : "Come, don't run down your self,
Sir

Sir James ; there's no body takes you for a blockhead but your self."

Third gentleman : " I have the most reason to kno' what I am."

Second gentleman : " Well, well, Sir A won't take you for fuch."

First gentleman : " He can make a better judgment than so, I tell you ; he'll be delighted with you."

Third gentleman : " Yes, and I shall hang my self. I wish my father had been a right worhippfull whole-sale grocer or draper or brandy maker, what d'ye call them, distiller, or any mechanick thing with but money in his pocket ; then I should have been——"

Second gentleman : " What ? what would you have been ? an arch-bishop, would you ? Are you not better as you are ? What would you have done with all this estate and a gown upon your back ?"

First gentleman : " Aren't you Sir James , Knight and Baronette, and £5000 a year ? What would you be better ?"

Third gentleman : " I'll tell you. I would not perhaps have been an arch-bishop ; I should have made but a sorry priest ; but I should have been a man of reading, a man of letters, and a schollar, and I must own that becomes a gentleman. I'de give half the estate for it with all my soul."

This discourse happen'd upon a cursory view onely of Sir A.'s buildings ; and the substance of it is to observe how well a young well educated son of a citizen or trades-man knows how to be a gentleman, if he has an estate to support it ; and how soon the posterity of such establish themselves among the gentry, and are accepted among gentlemen as effectually as if the blood of twenty generations was running in their veins.

I could give you so many examples of this kind that it would be tiresome to the reader ; but as some variety is

is necessary, besides those whose particular families are so well known to us and who it is not for that reason proper to mention, take the following history, which may be depended upon for truth.

Sir B F is another family now flourishing and eminent in the country. His father was an eminent city knight, a tradesman or merchant without family, without race or name in antient story, and what is still worse, without fortune, an accidental blow or blast of fortune overthrowing the old knight in the ordinary disasters of trade, such as are frequent among tradesmen.

He had educated his son during his better circumstances¹ with all the advantages that a birth fortelling a rising family could desire, and as his flowing wealth could well afford. He was a comely person, had an agreeable behaviour, perfectly good humour'd, and, in a word, was every thing that could be desir'd in his out-side. His head was furnish'd with a great stock of common knowleg by travell, and having seen the world he spoke severall languages. He had a tollerable share of school learning too, and had read much and seen more; and what added to it all, he had a mind fortify'd with virtue and solid judgement against the fopperies and follies of the age; and this supported him under the disappointment of his father's disasters so that he carried it with an equall steadyness of temper, not affraid of a figure below what he was bred for, and
f. 142. yet not insensible and thoughtless, indolent, and careless; but as he was design'd for a gentleman by his father, when in condition to have supported it, and was furnish'd as well by Nature as by education to be what his adverse fortune seem'd to forbid, yet he resolv'd to maintain the temper and behaviour of a gentleman in proporcion to his circumstances¹ and
to

¹ Abbreviation.

to let the world see that, if fortune had deny'd him the advantage of appearing in the brighter figure for which he was fitted, that yet he would shine in what ever orbit he mov'd in.

This equanimity of his temper gain'd him an universal esteem. Every man lov'd him, every man spoke well of him ; he was the subject of discourse at the tea tables, at the assemblies, at the meetings of all kinds among either the gentlemen or the ladies ; and tho' he was not treated as an object of charity recommended to the gentlemen for their supply, yet all the discourse generally ended with a kind of acknowledgement that he was a gentleman that deserv'd a better fortune.

C da was a maiden lady, well known in the country. She was an heiress in reversion to a very great fortune, and had a handsome estate in possession ; she was well bred, of an antient family, and tho' not a celebrated beauty, not the toast of the country, yet far from being ordinary, she was very genteel and perfectly agreeable.

As she had a very good estate and was well descended, she had not wanted the addresses of several gentlemen in the country, so that if she was not marry'd at 23 it was no body's fault but her own. Prudence and a very good judgment kept her from taking up below her self or with the worthless empty beaux of the adjacent town, tho' of equal fortunes ; and it was her receiv'd maxim that she would rather never marry than be match'd with a fool, however great his estate.

At a particular assembly of ladies, where being by themselves they made themselves amends upon the men for the scandalous freedom which they on the other hand often, I might say allways, take with the sex, they had among others the character of Sir B upon the carpet.

Not one of the ladies had so much as a hard or unkind

kind word for him. Every body said he was a compleat gentleman ; in the blow which his father's mistake had been to his fortunes, how modestly did he behave ! how humble and yet how easie ! how chearfull, how perfectly master of his own felicity ! how did he shew that, not depressed with the disappointment of what he had before to expect, he was able to compose his mind to a perfect enjoyment of what he had lost !

"To prov," says one lady, "that he knew how to have been a gentleman with a good estate, he shews that he can behave like a gentleman without an estate."

"Such a soul as his," says another, a maiden lady of a great fortune, "moves in an exalted sphere above the low, clouded, eclipsed regions of common life ; it can shine from its own lustre, and has all its merit in it self."

From this kind of discourse they began with some tenderness to speak of his past circumstances,¹ and especially concerning the blow he had received ; how he visited and assisted his father as far as he was able ; and abundance of soft things suitable to the goodness of the sex were said. At last C da took up the case.

"I have heard much of this gentleman," says she.²

¹ Abbreviation.

² End of MS.



NOTES.

PAGE 6.—Mothers are frequently blamed for their interference in their sons' education. Cf. Peacham, "Compleat Gentleman," p. 32; and J. Gailhard, "Compleat Gentleman" (1678), p. 16.

PAGE 15.—Sir William Craven was Lord Mayor of London in 1611. His son William was made Earl of Craven, and died in 1697, aged 88, thus being contemporary with Aubrey, twentieth and last Earl of Oxford, who died in 1702. It seems almost certain that these are the persons. But Defoe has confused the Earl's genealogy; Aubrey's father was Robert (*ob.* 1632), the nineteenth Earl. Robert was the son of Hugh, son of Aubrey, who was the younger brother of John (*ob.* 1562), the sixteenth Earl. The seventeenth Earl was his son Edward (*ob.* 1604). The eighteenth Earl was Henry (*ob.* 1625). Another younger brother of John, the sixteenth Earl, was Geoffrey, who had two sons, Sir Francis (died 1608) and Horatio de Vere. Nevertheless, the story seems to be true. (Bickley.)

PAGE 18, l. 22.—After *he* the printer has erroneously taken out the mark ¹ which refers to the foot-note. Fol. 8 of the MS. begins thus: *he sinks Plæbeii** [here is a mark for an insertion, which is lost] *really ought has set them.***

Venice and Poland

PAGE 25.—The quotation is from Andrew Marvell's poem, "A Dialogue between Two Horses."

PAGE 30.—*Thomas Thynne*, known as "Tom of Ten

Thousand," succeeded to Longleat, and lived there in great magnificence. He was basely assassinated while in his coach in Pall Mall, Feb. 12, 1687, by the connivance, as it is believed, of Count Konigsmark, a Swedish nobleman, who was tried for the crime, but was acquitted; his associates, who actually committed the murder, were hanged. (Burke, "Peerage and Baronetage.")

The following extract from Kennet, "History of England," iii. 402, will correct Defoe's mistake as to the nationality of *Captain Vratz*:—"The chief of the murderers readily confess'd the whole fact, said his name was Vratz, that he was a *German* and a Captain of Foot. *His servant, who was a Polander*, discharged his musquetoon upon Mr. Thynne."

PAGE 32.—*Charles Stourton*, seventh baron, having committed a foul murder upon a person of the name of Hargil and his son, was tried, convicted, and executed in a halter of silk at Salisbury, in March 1557. (Burke, "Peer. and Bar.")

Mervin Lord Audley, Earl of *Castlehaven* in Ireland, having had three indictments found against him at Salisbury Assizes, for a rape upon his own wife and for sodomy, was tried by his Peers in Westminster Hall on April 25; and, being found guilty of those abominable sins in their aggravated form, was sentenced to death, and soon after executed. (Kennet, "History of England," iii. 59.) He was the second Earl of Castlehaven. The execution was on the 14th of May 1631, on Tower Hill. (Burke, "Peer. and Bar.")

PAGE 32.—Balthasar Gérard, assassin of the Prince of Orange, 1558-1584.

PAGE 32.—John Felton assassinated the Duke of Buckingham at Portsmouth, August 24, 1628.

PAGE 33.—*Æsmodean* is a blunder; it should be *Asmonean* race—viz., the family of the Asmoneans, who ruled over the Jews for about one hundred and seventy years.

PAGE 34.—After *as to the true and proper means of obtaining fame* (line 2), the following long passage has been struck out:—

I might go on here, and that very suitably to my present purpose,

to mention the follies of other nations, who value themselves upon the antiquity of their race and upon the blood of their ancestors; but there is one country in particular, and not the least famed for pride neither, who are so unhappily corrupted by the meanest of all mixtures, I mean that of Moors and Arabs, Turks and Mahometans, that they begin to quit the claim to the antiquity of their blood, and claim their honour from the modern advances of their families, and choose to run up their pedigree to some foreign families, if possible so to shun so much as the probability of their being traced back to the Moriscoes or some other race of slaves, negroes, or barbarians. These are the Spanish and Portuguese. It is true it is not much less than three hundred years since the Moors were expelled from the footing they had in Spain, and Portugal also, being oblig'd after the battle of Xeres to abandonne the whole country and leave it to the Spaniards.

It is true also that no longer ago than the year 1500 or thereabout the King of Spain banish'd all those people call'd the Moriscoes, being the offspring of these Moors, and most of whom, rather than quit the country, had turn'd and quitted the mahometan religion and began to call themselves Spaniards, but who for reasons of State, which I confess I think were no reasons, were, I say, at once expelled the Kingdom to the number of near a million of people, and to the great impoverishing of the country as well in that which is the main wealth of any nation, viz. their people, as their money. But with all this, as the Moors, who were all Mahometans and the spurious, promiscuous race of Goths, Vandals, Arabs, Negroes, and Mauritians, amongst whom no distinction of blood or families are made, were possess't of the whole country for above 700 years, till the time of King Ferdinand, who, by the taking of the city of Granada and the great battle of Xeres above, entirely conquer'd them and drov them over into Africa; I say, as they possess't the whole country in property and government so many years, you hardly find a family of any antiquity beyond the year 1400 to 1500 who are not of Moorish original, or whose blood has not been blended with the meanest of all corrupted originalls, the Moors; except such families as have settled in Spain from other countries under the Spanish government.

PAGE 35.—The quotation is from Defoe's "True Born Englishman."

PAGE 40.—On the back of fol. 14 is the following sentence, which, however, is struck out:—
'tis for younger brothers to travell, study, and accomplish them-

elves; the eldest son of the family is above it all, those things are utterly needless to him.

(The quotations from Rochester on this page and the next are from his "Letter from Artemisia in the Town, to Chloe in the Country.")

PAGE 61.—On fol. 22b is the following list of the revenues of Spanish bishops and archbishops :—

A.B. of Toledo, 300,000 pieces of eight; A.B. of Seville, 120,000; A.B. of Mexico, 60,000; A.B. of Lima, 30,000; Granada, 40,000; Cordova, 40,000; Placenza, 40,000; A.B. Saragoca, 45,000; A.B. Valencia, 30,000; Cuenza, 50,000; A. Burgos, 40,000; Seguenzo, 40,000; Segovia, 26,000; Ofima, 26,000; Pampelona, 28,000; Salamanca, 24,000; Coria, 26,000; Jaen, 40,000; Malaga, 50,000; Murcia, 24,000; Los Angeles, 150,000.

PAGE 63.—The word *than* in line 15 is a slip made under the impression that the beginning of the sentence was *five times more*.

PAGE 68.—After *for the liberty of being ignorant* (line 2), the following paragraph has been struck out :—

Nay, when the Czar caused a high way to be cut thro' the woods and forrests, broad and strait, pav'd and solid, to pass the nearest way from Moscow to Peterburg, tho' no man was injur'd by it, tho' it was clean and fair, and the old way was full of sloughs and for many months unpassable, tho' it was a strait road by a line and consequently much nearer, the old way being above 30 German miles, that is, 120 English miles about; tho' he built inns and houses of entertainment at moderate distances for supply and convenience, and bridges for passing the rivers, whereas before they were oblig'd to cross deep and dangerous rivers and often to swim their horses, or, if frozen, venture upon the ice; yet they were so far from accepting the publick good that because it was among the rest an innovation, they murmur'd at, and for a long time would not travel that way or make use of the houses of entertainment provided for them.

PAGE 69.—After *of the people about them*, the following long passage has been struck out :—

In Muscovy the clergy are no more able to instruct the people or shew them examples of polite learning and a liberal education, that they are as grossly ignorant as the rest, perfectly untaught, infinitely superstitious and oppos'd [to] all improvements, as above,

under the notion of innovations and sinfull being a conformity to other nations of differing churches, pretending there is no salvation out of the communion of the Greek Church, in which their religion is a meer heap of confusion, a lump of ceremony and superstition, nonfence and contradiccion; abhorring images of Saints, yet worshipping their pictures; keeping 5 lents in a year, and abstaining from flesh till they are almost starv'd, but getting drunk every day for the reliefe of nature and an empty stomach.

The learning requir'd in a clergyman is to sing well and be able to say what they call their Mass, which is neither so good as the Missal of Rome or quite so bad as the old one of the Pagans, out of which both are deriv'd.

As for preaching or exposition of the Scripture, they neither perform or understand it, neither is there a man among them that was ever taught to preach, expound, or discourse to the people in a pulpit to the congregation. Their whole office is perform'd in the desk, and their churches are rather like pageants and picture shops than places of worship. They can rail at other people's religion indeed, when they cannot understand their own, raise mutinies and rebellions against innovations, for fear any body should open the people's eyes and make them too wise for their instructors; and in the late rebellion of the Strelitzes there was near 200 of the priests among them animating the soldiers to cut their Emperor's throat for desiring to introduce learning and the knowledge of usefull arts among them.

PAGE 72.—That ladies of rank ought to suckle their own children is also recommended by other writers on education; e.g., Braithwait, "The English Gentlewoman," 1631, p. 161.

PAGE 74.—Cf. Elyot, "The Governor" (ed. Croft), i. 29.

For, as some auncient writers do suppose, often times the childe oukethe the vice of his nouryse with the milke of her pappe.

PAGE 77.—On the opposite page the names of the two families are given: *Wharton* and *Darwentwater*.

PAGE 114.—That Defoe himself was doubtful as to the Latin names of these towns is apparent from the mark for "query" which he has added in the margin.

PAGE 117.—We need not believe Defoe's assertion as to the genuineness of the two letters which he meant to insert here.

PAGE 120.—*The three Leslys.* In the other work contained in the MS., "On Royall Educacion," fol. 72-74, Defoe speaks only of two such generals; but he is not quite accurate in either place, as only two of the family served under Gustavus Adolphus, and as only one of these could not write. In the "Historical Records of the Family of Leslie," by Colonel Leslie, I find that no less than four members of the family served in Germany during the Thirty Years' War.

1. *Sir Alexander Leslie of Balgony* was general of the Swedish army in Westphalia (cf. "Records," vol. ii. 103). Gustavus Adolphus raised him to the rank of lieutenant-general and field-marshal. In 1626 he was sent to take command of Stralsund, and successfully resisted the siege of that place by Wallenstein (iii. 356). He is reported to have been absolutely illiterate.

2. *David Leslie* (iii. 198), first Lord of Newark, born 1601, entered the service of Gustavus Adolphus during his wars in Germany. There he attained the rank of colonel of horse, and acquired the reputation of being an excellent officer. When the civil war broke out in Scotland, he was called home by the Covenanters in 1637. He greatly contributed to the defeat of the royal army at Marston Moor, 1644. But he was not illiterate, as is shown by a letter printed in the "Records," and which he wrote himself.—Defoe's error as to number seems to be caused by the two other members of the same family who also fought in Germany.

3. *Walter* (iii. 241), first Count Leslie, founder of the family of the Counts Leslie of the Holy Roman Empire, born 1606; he entered the Imperial service, in which he served with great distinction and honour in the war against the Swedes. He was created Count Leslie and Lord of Neustadt in Bohemia. He became a field-marshal and Governor of Sclavonia. He was one of the partisans of the Emperor who murdered Wallenstein.

4. *George Leslie*, second son of George Leslie, went to Germany, entered the army, attained the rank of colonel. He was killed at a siege (iii. 356).

PAGE 121.—These verses, which Defoe quotes also in his "Essay on Projects," are taken from Roscommon's "Essay on Translated Verse."

PAGE 178.—Swift, in his "Essay on Education" ("Works," 1841, ii. 290), shows at length how after the Restoration the Crown lay under the necessity of handing over the chief

conduct of the public affairs to new men merely for want of a supply among the nobility. He gives a long list of names.

PAGE 180.—Sir H., mentioned again on page 239 as Sir T. Ha . . . r, is probably Sir Thomas Hanmer, born in 1676, son of William Hanmer, Esq. He was returned to Parliament, at the accession of Queen Anne, for the co. of Flint, elected in 1707 for the co. of Suffolk, and chosen Speaker of the House of Commons in 1712. He sat more than thirty years in the House of Commons. (Burke, "Peer. and Bar".)

PAGE 181.—After *but that by the by* the following lines have been struck out:—*Of whom the famous Andrew Marvell sings merrily:*

*But thanks to the w who made the King dogged,
For giving no more the fools were prorogued.*

Then follows the heading of Chapter V. (page 184), after which comes the deleted paragraph beginning *Of these gentlemen* (p. 181).

PAGE 184.—At the beginning of fol. 101 is a different heading to Chapter V., but is struck out:—

CHAP. V.

Of what is properly to be call'd learning in a gentleman ; of the affliction it is sometimes to gentlemen of quality, whose genius and capacities are equally perfect with those of the most learned, to find themselves, as it were, wholly excluded from the society of the best men by the neglect of their parents in their education ; and of the great mistake they are guilty of in being afflicted at it and not taking (and of the easy and) [*added over line*] proper measures to retrieve it.

PAGE 184.—After *without any disguise*, the following passage is struck out:—

When the fabrick is thus built and that the foundation lay'd in pride is grown up in ignorance, 'tis still supported by the same preposterous notion : the gentleman scorns the scandal of being learned, is vain of his ignorance, calls it a life of pleasure, glories in it, and is happy onely as not kn . . . ? He is blinded by his pride not to see that he is compleatly miserable ; and here his pride is evidently a virtue, say those critical enquirers.

PAGE 186.—After *when he is grown up*, the following passage has been scored through :—

His masters, his parents, his instructors, who turn'd him into the field an afs, would never have taken him up a horse, had he fed in the best pasture in the world ; and to have bestow'd teaching upon one that could not learn had been something like a covetous man who, carrying gold to the refiner's to be melted, put lead into the crucible to encrease the quantity, not doubting but being melted with the pure metal it would all come out gold together, but found his lead was but a lump of lead still and could not incorporate with the gold.

But this is onely where I say the youth is incapable by meer naturall defects, where he has no power, and is not receptiv of learning ; then, indeed, the parents had been in the right and it had been the best thing they could do to let the understanding run wild. Why should they make vain attempts to hamer in learning where the strokes would make no impressiōn ?

But if there are such natural powers ; if the youth was forward to learn, had a genius, a memory, an inclinacion, all fuited to reciev the impressiōns of early education, there it must be acknowleg'd 'twas an unsufferable injury to deny teaching and to withhold the helps which nature indeed, as it were, openly call'd for.

PAGE 207.—W. Whiston, 1667-1752 : "A New Theory of the Earth ; wherein the Creation of the World in Six Days, the Universal Deluge, and the General Conflagration, as laid down in the Holy Scriptures, are shown to be perfectly agreeable to Reason and Philosophy," Lond. 1696, 1718, 1725, 8vo.

PAGE 210.—John Oldham, 1653-83.

PAGE 214.—Dr. Thomas Burnet, *d.* 1715 : "Telluris Theoria Sacrae," Lond. 1681-9, 2 vols. 4to ; Amst. 1699, 4to. Translated into English by himself, Lond. 1684-9, 2 vols. fol.

PAGE 218.—In writing this, Defoe perhaps thought of his own schoolmaster, Charles Morton, to whose excellent teaching he has borne testimony on another occasion.

The first schoolmaster who advocated the study of English was Richard Mulcaster (1582), as has been pointed out by Mr. Quick (ed. of Mulcaster's "Positions") and Dr. Furnivall (p. lviii of his article mentioned in the Introduction).

PAGE 219.—*Khiel* is doubtless a wrong spelling for *Keill*

(*John*), the name of the author of the "Introductio ad Veram Astronomiam," ed. 2^{nda}, Londini, 1721. There is a Flemish historian and poet, *Cornelis van Kiel* or *Cornelius Kilianus*, 1530(?)—1607; but he can hardly be meant.

PAGE 223.—*John Toland*, a deistical writer born in Ireland, 1670—1722. *Thomas Emlyn*, an English Nonconformist theologian, 1663—1743.

PAGE 223.—Epiphanius and Tertullian derive the name of the *Ebonites* from Ebion, a disciple of Cerinthus. Others derive it from the Hebrew Ebionim, *i.e.*, poor people.

PAGE 225.—Capt. Woods Rogers: "Voyage to the South Seas and round the World," 1708—11; "Cruising Voyage round the World," Lond. 1712, 8vo.

PAGE 244.—In a book entitled "The Country Gentleman's Vademecum," by G. Jacob, Gent., 1717, it is shown at length what the annual expense in the country was, at Defoe's time, of a nobleman's family comprising about twenty-five or thirty persons, "to be maintained genteelly and plentifully." The total expense is estimated at £1200 to £1500. The wages for the twenty servants amount to only £170.

PAGE 266.—After *pointed out*, the following words have been struck out:—

such as Mr. Edwards, Sir John Eyles, Sir Gilbert Heathcot, and many more.

PAGE 268.—After *hesitation*, the following passage has been struck out:—

Nay, shall these be rejected, when 'tis evident that some of them shall come in and be received without such a ceremony, when the hucksters of parties and families shall upon the most foolish pretence shut them entirely out?

PAGE 268.—No Lord Mayor's son of the name of Sir A . . . C . . . is known; the two persons are either fictitious or disguised under wrong initials. (Bickley.)

PAGE 276.—No baronet with the initials B and F, suiting the circumstances related here, can be identified. (Bickley.)



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